Canada and the Wider World

Ongoing External Influences in Canadian Development

Colin D. Howell

with teacher's notes by
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Series Editor: John N. Grant

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Contents

Foreword 1
Introduction ix
Chapter 1 Early Imperial Influences 1
Chapter 2 Loyalism and the Question of Canadian Nationalism 11
Chapter 3 External Influences on Confederation and National Policy Development 22
Chapter 4 Canada at War 32
Chapter 5 Canada in the Modern World 44
Annotated Bibliography 53
Teachers' Notes 57

Foreword

A.B. Hodgetts in *What Culture? What Heritage?: A Study of Civic Education in Canada*, (Toronto: OISE, 1968), (the Report of the National History Project) presented a "strong indictment" of the way Canadian studies were being taught in the public schools.[1] It stressed the message that "Canadian studies in our elementary and secondary schools have stagnated while many other subjects seem to have surged forward".[2] The concern generated by this report led directly to the establishment of the Canada Studies Foundation (CSF) incorporated in 1970 as an independent, non-profit organization mandated "to find ways of improving the quality of Canadian studies in the elementary and secondary schools of all provinces".[3] From its inception the CSF has insisted that Canadians need a greater degree of understanding of our society, and that knowledge is a necessary prerequisite for understanding. Since 1970, the Foundation has been involved in experimental teacher-centred curriculum development of a pan-Canadian nature.

No other organization has involved so many teachers in cooperative curriculum development endeavours from such a wide-spread geographical area. To be more specific: In its first phase (1970-75), the Foundation completed curriculum projects involving more than 700 people from every level of education and over 8,500 students from all provinces; in its second phase (1975-78), the CSF completed ten additional projects involving 400 educators in all provinces, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. By February 1981, 51 volumes of learning materials developed as a result of these Foundation-sponsored projects had been commercially published and more than 30 volumes of learning materials were available from non-commercial sources.

As well as being involved in curriculum development activities, the Canada Studies Foundation has developed a bilingual information service used by more than 6,000 persons. It has maintained a fully bicultural operation, providing services to francophone teachers and education officials in ten provinces. It has organized or provided resource personnel for local, provincial and national workshops involving more than 5,500

persons ... Throughout these activities, the Foundation has been consistent in its objective of encouraging mutual understanding and respect among the diverse elements of Canada.[4]

After ten years of experience the Foundation produced a comprehensive rationale for Canada Studies programs. This rationale, authored by Paul Gallagher and A.B. Hodgetts and entitled *Teaching Canada for the '80s* (O.I.S.E. 1978) concluded that while "significant improvements in studies of Canada have taken place over the past ten years"[5] the development of Canadian studies had reached a plateau. It stresses that:

> The need now is for something more than merely continuing expanding what is already being done. The need now is for a cooperative and systematic nation-wide effort to improve the quality of studies of Canada in Canadian schools. The development of ... a common framework of studies consistently "pan"-Canadian in objective and designed in truly "pan"-Canadian fashion, touching all curriculum areas and spanning the full range of school years in a coordinated manner, is now the pressing need.[6]

Elsewhere the authors explain that:

> In our work with the CSF, we have found that the normal social process by which our young people develop their values, attitudes, and standards of judgment through strong regional and ethnic forces is not yet balanced in formal education by sufficient opportunities to study, to know about, and to understand Canada as a whole. We believe that *Canada* studies – as distinct from all other more restricted *Canadian* studies – should deal with our society as a totality, in country-wide, interlocking perspectives that can be shared by all Canadians wherever they may live. Otherwise, as the National History Project and many others have emphasized, this area of education will continue to be another divisive force in our society. The Canadian studies movement, in all its variety of techniques and products, should be sustained and nourished. What is needed now, however, is a common framework of ideas that educators in all provinces should use in the development of Canada Studies that will be country-wide in perspectives and objectives. The traditional Canadian practice of different groups and jurisdictions concurrently and independently searching for answers to specific provincial or regional concerns needs to be supplemented by an interprovincial cooperative attack on problems shared by all groups and jurisdictions. The luxury of each going

off in his own direction can no longer be afforded, financially or educationally, in Canada.

This book is exclusively addressed to the question, "What should young Canadians *understand* about their own country?"[7]

Teaching Canada for the '80s is the position statement of the Canada Studies Foundation and all development activities of the Foundation are related to the broad curriculum outline it contains. *Teaching Canada for the '80s* breaks Canada Studies into four separate but interrelated components. These four broad themes are: (1) the Canadian Environment; (2) the Canadian Political System; (3) the Canadian Economic System; and (4) Canadian Public Issues. In order to create material designed to fulfill the objectives of the CSF and to reflect its pan-Canadian thrust a number of regional centres were established, each charged with the responsibility of responding to one of the components. The Atlantic Institute of Education accepted the task of co-ordinating the development of materials that would deal with the theme "the Canadian Environment".

The term "environment" is used in *Teaching Canada for the '80s* "to describe the totality of the basic features of Canada, the interactions between them and their far-reaching effects".[8] This is a much broader usage than any meaning it might have in biology or ecology and includes the entire Canadian milieu, "the composite of the physical, social and cultural characteristics of Canada, viewed as a single entity".[9]

The "basic features of Canada" which create its environment are those characteristics which collectively make Canada a unique country. It should be recognized that individually these basic features are not unique to Canada but are shared by many political communities. At the same time, it must be realized

> ... that no other political community has the same composite of basic features and the same relationships among them. And that is what makes Canada a unique political community just as all other political communities have a unique composite of basic features and particular relationships among them.[10]

The most important basic features that relate to Canada include:

(1) Canada is a northern, vast, and regionally divided country.
(2) Canada has a broad natural resource base composed of both renewable and non-renewable resources.
(3) Canada is an industrial, technological, and urbanized society.
(4) Canada is a culturally diverse, multi-ethnic country with two historically predominant linguistic and cultural groups.

(5) Canada is exposed to a multitude of external economic, political, and cultural influences.[11]

While the authors point out that these characteristics are not meant to be subject to a deterministic interpretation they do suggest that these characteristics provide "strong constraints within which policy formation, leadership, and authority must be exercised and public opinion formed in Canada".[12]

The set of materials published under the series title *Aspects of the Canadian Environment* deals directly with the five basic features which characterize the Canadian environment. Each basic feature has been developed to provide teachers and interested readers with sufficient background information to create a working base of knowledge upon which to build their understanding of the country. It should lead to an understanding

> ... that the basic features are the major sources of diversity in Canada; that they are strong factors in the formation of public opinion and the differences in viewpoint on public issues in various parts of the country; that they generate most of the problems of continuing concern to Canadians and cause social tension; and that they substantially influence the structure and functioning of Canada's political and economic systems. All other Canada Studies should be approached with the background knowledge provided by a careful analysis of the basic features of this country.[13]

There are thus five sections to this series, each of which includes a major paper as well as a set of "notes for teachers" dealing with the pedagogical aspects of the material. The five sections are:

(1) "Canada: A Land of Physical Diversity" by Doreen M. Tomkins, and (1a) Teachers' Notes by the author;
(2) "Canada's Natural Resources and their Use" by Maurice Mandale, and (2a) Teachers' Notes by Marcia Armstrong;
(3) "Canadians and their Economy: Today, Yesterday, and Tomorrow" by Barry Lesser and Bruce Roald, and (3a) Teachers' Notes by the authors;
(4) "Canada's Peoples" by Anthony Burton, and (4a) Teachers' Notes by Gordon Watson; and
(5) "Canada and the Wider World" by Colin Howell and (5a) Teachers' Notes by Glenda Redden.

These follow closely the five basic features given above and provide pertinent background information and a bibliography for further reading. The notes for teachers offer ideas for classroom presentation of

the material and also contain suggestions on other sources of information. Care has been taken that each is as up to date as possible.

A careful reading of the material will demonstrate its usefullness to teachers. It will also be equally obvious that there are a number of ways that it can be used. Some readers might be interested in only one or two of the aspects of these studies. These will find that each is a separate unit (insofar as that is possible) and can be read (although perhaps incompletely understood) without dealing with the other areas. These readers will find that the "Teachers' Notes" tend to deal with each topic individually. It must be stressed, however, that, even if each unit is taught separately, or if only one of the five is used at all, one should

> ... emphasize the interrelationships of these features. Out of such a study should come a synthesis: a view of the nature of Canadian society seen as a whole, the consequence of a composite of the basic features of the Canadian environment and their interaction. The broad objective throughout the study should be to help students develop an overview of the character of Canadian society, the forces that have shaped it, and the institutions that have sustained it.[14]

Readers will discern that there are two important elements within the discussion of the Canadian environment. The first includes the basic features and a consideration of how these are interrelated, while the second emphasizes the consequences of the above on Canadian society. The consideration of interaction of geography, history, economics, resources, and people should reveal much about what makes Canada unique and distinctive.

Relationships among the basic features can be developed as each individual unit is covered. That Canada is both physically enormous and diversified is obvious after studying Doreen Tomkins' section. A similar reading of Anthony Burton's study of the people of Canada reveals that the people who occupy the land are equally diverse in their origins and cultural backgrounds. The reaction of these peoples to the land and their use of the natural resources, as described by Maurice Mandale, has a direct relationship to the economic development of Canada as discussed by Lesser and Roald. But, as is emphasized in the economic considerations, few countries are allowed to develop uninfluenced by their neighbours. Therefore, Howell's work examining Canada's place in the world helps to further explain the fact of Canada. While history may not have a great effect on the physical environment it has had enormous influence on what physical environment is to be included in any political community and by whom and how the physical environment is to be used. There can be no question of the impact all of these features have had on the cultural environment. While it is unnecessary to further elaborate these initial relationships it is neces-

sary that they be explained. It would further be useful to students understanding to analyze current issues which illustrate a whole variety of relationships. One such issue might be the building of a pipeline from the far north, as presented in *Teaching Canada for the '80s*.[15] Another might be transcontinental rail transportation or the development of our offshore oil reserves. Such issues should be examined in such a way so that students will not only have the opportunity to understand the debate itself but to develop relationship building skills as well.

Consider the possibilities for learning contained in the examination of the issue of the movement of electrical power from Labrador through the Province of Quebec to national and international markets. This is a controversy that can, and for understanding should, be examined under the heading of the "five basic features". Any discussion of this issue would immediately assert the fact of the northerness of the source of power on the Churchill River. This would draw attention to the fact that much of Canada's natural resource storehouse is considerably north of most of our major population centres. This raises the question of protection of the delicate ecology of the North, the safeguarding of the position of northern people and the demands of the rest of the country. The energy supply of Labrador is electrical power and while the river runs it will be produced. This, however, centres attention on the issue of the use of renewable and non-renewable resources, and also on the fact that Canadians, again partly due to our size and our northern location, are the largest users of energy in the world.

The difficulty of transporting the electrical power of the Churchill is not only due to climate, distance, topography, and ecological considerations, but also provides an example of regional and provincial division within Canada. The Province of Newfoundland and Labrador has long demanded that they be allowed to move the power across the Province of Quebec without dealing with the Hydro Quebec middleman. This has not yet been possible. Newfoundland insists that if interprovincial pipelines can be constructed so can an interprovincial hydroline. The Government of Canada has been caught in the middle. In the balance lies national needs, provincial rights, federal-provincial relations, financial considerations and perhaps the historic claim of Labrador by Quebec. This study would also consider the need for energy far from its source revealing Canada as a highly developed, technological, industrial and urbanized state. It would also reveal that much of the Labrador power is destined to markets in the United States. This fact opens the subject to the examination of our peculiar relationship to our only continental neighbour. This examination would expose the fragility of our cultural and national existence and the inherent dangers of "sleeping with an elephant".

Any classroom teacher would be able to develop these, and other, relationships in any number of similar topics. What is stressed here is that such relationships must be drawn and that students must be given the opportunity to acquire the prerequisite background information

and the necessary skills to assist their own understanding of this country as well as introduce students to some of the complexities of making major decisions in Canada.

This example and those contained in *Teaching Canada for the '80s* demonstrates the process by which a more complete understanding of an issue can be developed. Again, the various parts of this series will greatly assist in bringing about this understanding as they supply the prerequisite background information.

If studying the basic features and the interrelationship among them helps answer the question "Why?" then examination of the consequences these hold for Canadian society should address the question "So What?". Just as the examination of causes allowed students the opportunities to analyze an issue – to break it down into its component parts and study each separately – the consideration of consequences will give them the opportunity to synthesize the findings – to rebuild the evidence in response to a particular problem. This skill may lead them to discover that while all Canadians have many of the same basic desires they also have many, and sometimes conflicting, loyalties. Regionalism, spawned by geography and reinforced by history, economic disparity due to an uneven distribution of natural resources and a variety of economic opportunities, and a richly diverse population often associated with one region, or one part of a region, have all helped to create loyalties that have threatened the unity of Canada itself. The challenge for Canada is to balance diversity and unity. Hopefully, some students will

> ... begin to recognize that, if Canada is to respond to the legitimate and diverse aspirations of all its members, some level of consensus among Canadians is necessary to balance the normal frictions among groups in Canada.[16]

There is no one single "correct" story of Canada, just as there is no one "correct" Canadian. The interpretation of the development of one region cannot represent the story of the development of the nation. Each region and sub-region and each of Canada's peoples has their own story. Unity can, however, be found in the basic features, their interrelationships and their consequences. Their study will help inform students of what Canada is and why it developed as it did. This background will provide students with the setting for more sophisticated studies of Canada and perhaps help respond to the charge that Canadian schools are not sufficiently Canadian.

As co-ordinating editor of this series of new works expressly developed for it, I would like to express my gratitude to the authors who worked so diligently to marry their academic interests and expertise with the curriculum demands of *Teaching Canada for the '80s* and the perceived needs of junior-high school teachers. Thanks too are extended to the many reviewers, too often forgotten, who examined these works

and subjected them to a most rigorous scrutiny and in no small way will be responsible for any success they may enjoy. The encouragement, support, and leadership the project received from the Atlantic Institute of Education and the Canada Studies Foundation in the persons of Dr. William Hamilton, Dr. Andrew Hughes and Dr. Robert Anderson has been much appreciated. Special thanks are also extended to Beverly Quillan, Joanne Eisener and John Knight of the Atlantic Institute of Education.

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FOOTNOTES

1. A.B. Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?: A Study of Civic Education in Canada*. (Toronto, OISE, 1968), p.5.
2. *Ibid*., p. 7.
3. The Canada Studies Foundation, *The Work of the Canada Studies Foundation*, (Unpublished Document, 1981), p.1.
4. *Ibid*., pp. 1-2.
5. A.B. Hodgetts and Paul Gallagher, *Teaching Canada for the '80s*, (Toronto: OISE, 1978), p. v.
6. *Ibid*., p. vi.
7. *Ibid*., p. 2.
8. *Ibid*., p. 13.
9. *Ibid*., p. 37.
10. *Ibid*., p. 10.
11. *Ibid*., p. 12.
12. *Ibid*., p. 13.
13. *Ibid*., p. 12.
14. *Ibid*., p. 37.
15. *Ibid*., p. 47-48.
16. *Ibid*., p. 50.

Introduction

This short book is not intended to serve teachers in the way traditional textbooks do. Rather than emphasizing historical detail, *Canada and the Wider World* attempts to present a conceptual framework for understanding Canada's development in the world of nations. Recognizing that the contributors to other volumes in this series will be responsible for Canada's internal development and national character, this volume addresses the way in which Canadian history was shaped by international influences. Because this volume takes a conceptual approach rather than providing an exhaustive source of information it is hoped that teachers will supplement their understanding by consulting the secondary works referred to in the teachers' notes and in the text itself.

In preparing this Volume I have received valuable support from John Grant of the Atlantic Institute of Education and Burkhard Kiesekamp at Saint Mary's University. My thanks go as well to Shirley Buckler for typing the manuscript with her usual artistry and to my wife Suzanne and daughter Heather for being what they are.

Colin D. Howell

Early Imperial Influences 1

No country can live in a world of isolation. But New World countries like Canada and the United States, settled as they were by immigrants from abroad, have been particularly influenced by the concerns of a wider world. The earliest chapter in Canada's history, that of British and French imperial involvement, established an imprint upon Canada that has endured to the present. Even with the gradual disengagement of European powers from North America during the 19th and 20th centuries, the connections between Canada and Europe have continued to exercise an important influence on Canada's history. The links with the Old World assume particular importance when one considers that Canada, unlike most countries, has but a single neighbour. The United States has exerted a particularly powerful influence upon Canadians. Although the United States has saved Canada from the geographical isolation that has befallen countries like Australia and New Zealand, her presence often is a source of unease. Living "cheek by jowl" with a country whose population is ten times our own poses an enduring challenge to Canada's experiment in nationhood. Not surprisingly, therefore, the links that Canada has forged with Europe, and more recently with other parts of the world, represent important counterweights to the powerful social, cultural, and economic influence of the United States.

The Canadian Environment

If the early history of Canada was shaped by the influences of Old World empires, it also reflected the impact of New World frontiers. With the United States, Canada shares the historical experience of wringing an existence out of a continental wilderness. The heroic and sometimes brutal encounter of man and a harsh northern environment, so central to the Canadian experience and inseparable from an understanding of ourselves as Canadians, is a recurring theme in our history, art, and literature. The central elements of our national mythology — the establishment of a northern Confederation "from sea to sea", the settlement of the empty western prairie, and the construction of a Pacific Railway through the Canadian Shield and the mighty Rockies — reflect this preoccupation with the land. Whatever one thinks of it, we have made heroes of those who have met and overcome the challenge of the "True

North"; the *coureurs de bois,* the NorthWest Mounted policeman, the transcontinental railway builder. In the words of one historian "we have made a glory of the brutality of our land, and triumphs from its vicissitudes. The Canadian hero is the explorer, the fur trader. The Canadian Pacific Railway was more than an act of faith; it was a conquest, and we have romanticized it, as we have the voyageurs."*

But the seemingly romantic conquest of the northern half of the continent has an unsavory side. At times it has meant outright colonial exploitation, the destruction of the environment, and the alteration of the traditional way of life of our native peoples. In our own time the impact upon the environment of oil exploration and supply, of extensive power developments like the James Bay project, and of the massive fishing fleets off our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, reveal that the conquest of nature can be a mixed blessing. This is not, of course, a recent discovery. The Canadian novelist Margaret Atwood has noted a preoccupation with this theme in modern Canadian literature. Just when man seems likely to conquer and enslave the Canadian environment, she observes, "sympathy begins to shift from the victorious hero to the defeated giantess, and the problem is no longer how to avoid being swallowed up by a cannibalistic nature but how to avoid destroying her."

However one feels about this, it reveals the significance of the environment to Canada's history. Our politics, our culture, and our economic system all reveal the impact of geography. Differences in the land mark off the various regions of Canada, providing each with a shared experience and local loyalty that distinguishes it from other regions. The sea-girt Maritimes, the Saint Lawrence Valley region, the Canadian Shield, the Prairies, the Cordillera region and the frontier North each have their own perspective on Confederation. Canada's regional and cultural differences, or "limited identities" as J. M. S. Careless has called them, have continuously tested our national will and frustrated the search for a coherent national identity. In the political realm, the need to formulate policies that serve national needs without infringing upon provincial rights or offending regional sensibilities has demanded an extremely flexible political system. The result is our Canadian federal system which allows for the sharing of power between national and provincial jurisdictions.

The Frontier Thesis

Canada's frontier history can be contrasted to that of its neighbour. The most striking difference in the early history of Canada and the United States is the much more pervasive influence of European powers in the Canadian frontier. In order to understand the reasons for this

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* From *The Arduous Destiny,* Canada 1874-1896 by Peter B. Waite reprinted by permission of McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto.

difference it is necessary to look at the importance of the frontier in United States history. In 1893 a young American historian from Wisconsin, Frederick Jackson Turner, outlined the manner in which the frontier influenced the development of the United States. Turner's "Frontier Thesis" attempted to explain the process by which Europeans were transformed into what Alexis de Tocqueville called "this new man, the American". In the continually advancing American frontier, Turner argued, the traditional habits of European civilization were discarded and replaced by a more democratic and American culture. To Turner the frontier experience represented a process of Americanization which replaced hierarchy, class consciousness and hereditary privilege with social and economic mobility. It also created a society unwilling to defer to the authority of the Old World. The recurring theme in American western movies of the cultivated, eastern dude at odds with a hurly-burly, two-fisted frontier society, bears witness to the widespread acceptance of the frontier myth in American culture.

The frontier thesis raises an intriguing question for students of Canadian history. To what extent do environmental circumstances explain the more pervasive European influence upon Canada's early history? To begin with, it is important to note that Canada experienced the impact of not one, but two frontier influences. Like the United States, Canada experienced the effects of the continental wilderness, but unlike the United States the Canadian frontier was usually more closely connected to the sea. At each of the points of the compass, with the exception of the southern border with the United States, Canada is bounded by a major ocean: the Atlantic in the east, the Pacific in the west, and the Arctic in the north. On the Atlantic shore, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island are completely surrounded by water and Nova Scotia is almost so. Further west, the Saint Lawrence-Great Lakes waterway system cuts into the heart of the continent, connecting the continental interior to the sea and rendering the Canadian colonies far more accessible to imperial control than their American counterparts.

One might argue against this that the Thirteen Colonies were coastal colonies which demonstrated a stubborn resistance to imperial influence, a resistance which culminated in the American Revolution. This is partly true. But it is also the case that the influence of European culture was stronger along the sea-coast than it was in the interior. The powdered wigs fashionable in Puritan Boston contrasted with the buckskin and moccasins of frontier culture. Furthermore, as the historian William Nelson has shown in his book *The American Tory*, resistance to the American Revolution was strongest in those areas which were sparsely populated and closest to the sea.

Metropolitanism and the Staples Thesis

Because of the greater influence of the sea in the Canadian colonies, the early histories of Canada and the United States reveal significant differ-

ences. In contrast to the American pattern of frontier settlement and gradual westward advance, the Canadian frontier was characterized by imperial domination, limited settlement and the exploitation of colonial resources. Turner's thesis, with its emphasis on American uniqueness, played down the influence of Europe on American history. But Canadian historians have turned Turner on his head, arguing that the frontier's impact on organized society in Canada was far less important than the impact of organized society on the frontier. Canadian history, J. M. S. Careless has argued, is characterized by *metropolitanism*. The metropolitan influence of London and Paris in the Old World, and of important urban centers like Montréal, Toronto, Saint John and Halifax in British North America, was more important in shaping Canadian history than the force of frontier democracy. What is more, the triumph of orderly metropolitanism over frontier individualism has prompted a greater concern in Canada for order than for the rights of the autonomous individual. Metropolitanism helps to explain why the Canadian constitution speaks of "peace, order, and good government" rather than "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness".

Historically, metropolitan influences in Canada arose out of the organization and export of stable commodities like fish, fur, lumber, and wheat to overseas markets. Much of Canada's history is in fact an expression of staples development. The "staples theory" of Canadian history was first applied in a systematic way by Harold Innis, a Canadian economist from the University of Toronto. Innis argued that the concentration on the production of exportable staples had "broad implications for the Canadian economic, political, and social structure." The development of each staple left its own peculiar mark on Canada, and the shift to new staples invariably meant periods of adjustment and rearrangement. One need only think of the transportation and marketing infrastructure that accompanied the development of the fur trade or the western wheat economy (not to mention the social ramifications that accompanied them), to appreciate the immense impact of staples production upon Canadian development. At the same time, the Canadian dependence on staples production ensured her dependence upon the marketing skill and financial assistance of imperial powers. This dependence enhanced the metropolitan influence of Old World empires and diminished the influence of the frontier.

When one applies the "staples theory" to Canada's recent history, one finds that the nature and direction of staples production and export have shifted significantly. In the period before World War One Canadian resources such as codfish, furs, timber and wheat had been harvested to serve European needs. After World War One the opening up of the Canadian Shield and the expansion of the British Columbia forest industry altered the traditional pattern of staples export. The shift in emphasis from the wheat economy to hydro-power and timber resource development resulted in a greater dependence upon the United States as a market for Canadian resources. The expansion of the petroleum industry in

Alberta after the opening of the Leduc No. 1 well in 1947 has served to reinforce this trend. To some people, the history of Canada — insofar as it relates to staples production — is one of resource exploitation in service of foreign powers. England and France exerted metropolitan control in the colonial period, while the United States does so today.

Mercantilism and the Old World Empires

During the 17th and 18th centuries the British and French empires in Canada operated in accordance with the principles of mercantilism. Mercantilism was a notion of empire that rested upon the assumption that the world's wealth was limited. Mercantilists therefore believed that imperial power was based upon the ability of a nation to monopolize as much of that wealth as was possible. Unlike present-day capitalist societies which assume that wealth can be produced through the exchange of reasonably priced goods in an open world marketplace (an attitude sumbolized in the advertising jingle "I'd like to buy the world a Coke"), mercantilist empires were intent upon denying rival powers a share of the market they controlled. To the mercantilist the barometer of a nation's success was its ability to acquire and keep gold and silver. If a country did not have a source of precious metals (as the Spanish did in their overseas colonies), it was considered essential to maintain a favorable balance of trade with other nations. Colonies were therefore important to the mother country as a source of raw materials and a market for its manufactured goods. In order to ensure their monopoly over colonial resources, imperial governments often resorted to legislation prohibiting the sales of essential commodities outside the empire. The British Navigation Acts of the 1650s and 1660s which restricted trade within the British Empire to British vessels manned by British crews provide perhaps the best example of mercantilist principles enacted into law. But mercantilist legislation of this sort also implied imperial conflict. In the 17th and 18th centuries Britain and France engaged in an extended competition for wealth, power, and colonial domination which greatly influenced Canada's early history.

Newfoundland and Acadia

The early involvement of Britain and France in Canada was linked to the harvesting of two staple commodities, the codfish and the beaver pelt. It is worth noting, however, that neither of these necessitated substantial colonial settlement. The audacious group of English West-country merchants who secured a royal charter to exploit the Grand Banks fishery in 1634, for example, discouraged permanent settlement in Newfoundland fearing the development of a competitive resident fishery on the island. The British government shared the merchants' hostility to settlement, but

for other reasons. The heavy seas and unpredictable weather of the North Atlantic region made it a particularly appropriate training ground for sailors. This was an age when commercial vessels could easily be transformed into vessels of war. Parliament thus regarded the North Atlantic fishery as a training ground for seamen who could be readily enlisted to serve the Crown in time of war. More than just a source of commercial wealth, the North Atlantic fishery was an important component of the European military balance of power in an age of imperial rivalry.

In the long run, however, the need to dry and cure the cod on the shore of Newfoundland resulted in the emergence of a settled shore community. By the beginning of the 18th century residents were taking almost one-third of the catch, much to the dismay of the West-country merchants and the imperial authorities who deplored the loss of potential ocean-going sailors. The resident population of Newfoundland numbered about 3,000 in 1700, and would increase to almost 12,000 by 1765. Despite this growing resident colony, however, Parliament in Britain refused to provide the institutions of civil government to Newfoundland fearing that this would simply encourage further settlement. In the absence of any effective imperial control, local interests came to predominate over the broader concerns of the vast unseen Empire. Newfoundland communities came to rely on family and kinship relations to ensure stability and consensus in the absence of the authority and force of British law.

Newfoundland was not the only neglected shore community to develop in the early years of imperial control. Another was Acadia where descendants of the original settlers at Port Royal occupied the lands of the Minas Basin in what is now Nova Scotia. Expert farmers, the Acadians farmed the low-lying lands along the Fundy shore, constructing dykes of log and clay to protect their fields from the sea. Like the shore population of Newfoundland, the Acadians were free from strong governmental authority. Order and cohesion in Acadian communities was generally achieved through the influence of the priests and communal decisions were usually arrived at in local assemblies held in the churches. The isolation of Acadian society increased with the cession of Acadia to Britain in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). A recent study of Acadian in the period before the expulsion reveals that inbreeding and illiteracy both increased as Acadian society was cut off from the mother country. In their isolation from the Old World, moreóver, Acadians had come to regard imperial allegiances as irrelevant to their daily lives, choosing instead to follow a course of neutrality whenever the rivalry of Britain and France intruded upon their existence.

But the immunity of Acadia from imperial influence was more apparent than real. After the transfer of Acadia from France to Britain in 1713 the British authorities remained unconvinced of the loyalty of the Acadian population. Given the fact that the Acadians and the Mic Mac Indians were on far better terms than were the Mic Macs and the English, and considering that the Mic Macs were hardly the docile people that

they have since been made out to be, the loyalty of the Acadians was a matter of concern. Although the British attempted a number of times to secure a loyalty oath, the Acadians stubbornly maintained their neutrality. Finally in 1775 the British Governor at Halifax, Governor Lawrence, issued orders for the deportation of some 7,000 Acadians from Nova Scotia and their dispersal throughout the other colonies. The suffering of this uprooted people is romanticized in Longfellow's poem *Evangeline* which tells the story of two lovers, Evangeline and Gabriel, separated on their wedding day during the expulsion from Grand Pré. For the rest of her life Evangeline searches for Gabriel, only to find him on his deathbed. In the longer term the events surrounding the expulsion provided subsequent generations of Acadians with a sense of identity and common suffering. A large number of Acadians settled in Louisiana, giving it a "Cajun" flair, but many others returned to their homeland where today they make up a significant portion of the population of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

New France

The history of New France bears little resemblance to that of Newfoundland and Acadia. In New France, especially after the establishment of Royal Government in 1663, imperial influence was much more pervasive than it was elsewhere in Canada. New France under royal administration was a highly regulao the attention of royal officials in Paris. Part of matters of even the smallest importance came tthe reason for this was that French monarchs like Louis XIV, 'The Sun King', were engaged in a struggle to subordinate the nobility and the Catholic Church in Franch to royal authority. Louis XIV regarded New France as a 'model colony' in the New World which would represent a shining example of royal order and rational administration. In New France, Louis believed, a society could be established which would limit the power of the nobility and ensure royal predominance. Real power in New France was thus granted to administrators like the *intendant* who served at the pleasure of the King, and to Catholic bishops who maintained a greater loyalty to France than to Rome. In such a way the Crown fostered a particularly intimate relationship between the colony and the French metropolitan centre.

Strict metropolitan regulation also characterized the two main economic institutions of New France, the seigneurial system and the fur trade. Under the seigneurial system of landholding the state granted strips of land to *seigneurs* who would parcel it out to small peasant farmers or *habitants*. The objective of the system was to establish a settled agriculture, where seigneur and habitant would have a clearly defined relationship of rights and obligations, and where the state could exercise its authority to maintain order and social stability. Because the Saint Lawrence River was the natural lifeline connecting New France to

the mother country, the lands were granted in long, narrow strips fronting on the river, a policy which has left an imprint on the Québec countryside visible even today. the emphasis on a stable, settled agriculture reflected the royal hope of establishing a worthy testimony to royal authority. It also reveals the mercantilist assumptions of the French empire which precluded the development of a diversified economy in New France. France refused to allow any commercial activity or industry that might compete with the commercial and industrial interests at home. New France was to be a stable, highly-regulated and essentially dependent society whose purpose was to serve the needs of France.

In the absence of any other thriving industry, the fur trade assumed an unusual importance in the economy of New France. The fashionability of the beaver hat in 17th century France stimulated a brisk trade in furs and provided the colony with its economic underpinings. The export of furs to France paid for the necessities of life unavailable in New France. In addition to its commercial importance, the fur trade had a strategic significance. As was true of the North Atlantic fishery, the fur trade was an important element in the military balance of power, allowing France to secure military alliances with the Indian nations important in the struggle for advantage with England. To the Indians, on the other hand, contact with the Europeans meant the destruction of their traditional way of life. Jesuit missionaries challenged the Indian's traditional religious beliefs, contact with white man's diseases such as smallpox destroyed their well-being, and the substitution of the musket for Indian weaponry made the Indian increasingly more dependent upon Europeans for their survival in the forest.

At the same time the fur trade threatened the stability of colonial life, encouraging restless habitants to give up farming for the life of the coureurs de bois. Although the Crown frowned upon this behaviour and attempted to limit access to the trade by granting fur trade monopolies, there is no question that frontier conditions undermined royal objectives. Consider, for example, the relationship of seigneur and habitant. Although the seigneurial system was intended to secure a stable class hierarchy, the labour shortage which characterized virtually all New World colonies tended to reduce the distance in status between the seigneur and the habitant. In order to encourage immigrants to come to New France numerous concessions had to be granted to them. Land was granted to habitants in generous lots, seigneurial dues were modest and the traditional work service obligation known as the *corvee* was rarely imposed.In comparison to the Old World peasant, the habitant was moderately well-off, independent and sometimes even impudent. The habitants' free spirit extended even to the Church. Although New France is often regarded as a 'priest-ridden' and Church-dominated society, the Catholic church found it impossible to exert the kind of authority over the habitants that it might have liked. Priests complained of difficulties in collecting the tithe and admonished their parishioners against an attitude of disrespect toward the Church. This is not to imply that the Church

exerted an insignificant influence in the society of New France; obviously the mission of the Church was closely woven into the imperial fabric. It does reveal, however, that even in a colony characterized by strict regulation, the conditions of the frontier often rendered metropolitan objectives unattainable.

The Conquest

The period from 1688 to 1763 was one of extended imperial warfare. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) France was compelled to yield Acadia, Newfoundland and the Hudson's Bay region to Great Britain. Fearful of British attack on Québec, the French maintained a claim to Cape Breton Island where they began constructing a massive fortress at Louisbourg during the 1720s. When war resumed in the 1740s Louisbourg fell to a force of New Englanders, but the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) required its return. In the following year the British founded Halifax and began a policy of encouraging Protestant settlers to locate in the colony. One such group, made up of Germans from the Palatine region, settled at Lunenburg where they achieved an international reputation as expert mariners and shipbuilders. But it was Halifax and Louisbourg that dominated the Atlantic scene: these two mighty fortresses represented the continuing rivalry of Britain and France in the New World.

When Louisbourg fell a second time in 1758 the French lost control of the approaches to the Saint Lawrence. In the following year Québec fell to a British force under General Wolfe and New France became a British possession. Far from being a unifying event in our history, the conquest sowed the seeds of subsequent antagonism between English and French Canadians. For one thing, the British failed to appreciate the extent to which the traditional relationship of the habitant and seigneur with each other and to the Church had altered over time, and were convinced that by aligning themselves with the seigneurial class and the Church their authority would be enhanced. Although the Québec Act of 1774 guaranteed French-Canadians their language and religion, it also upheld seigneurial rights and made the tithe a legal obligation. This policy in fact encouraged the hostility of the habitant to British authority. At the same time, because the mercantilist policy of France had frustrated the development of a diversified economy, New France at the time of the conquest had no significant middle class. Thereafter the British merchants of Montréal would come to dominate the commercial life of Québec. This has been a constant source of antagonism and resentment, giving rise to the Québecois impulse to become "masters of their own house".

The American Revolution

In some ways the last half of the 18th century represents the most important formative period in Canada's history. Not only did the impe-

rial rivalry of Britain and France lead to the conquest, but the struggle between Britain and her American colonies occasioned a massive migration to Canada of some 30 to 40 thousand United Empire Loyalists who refused to join in the American revolutionary cause. The coming of the Loyalists ensured that British North America would remain British. In the Maritimes the migrations increased the population by 20,000 or so, and led in 1784 to the establishment of the separate province of New Brunswick. Further west another 10,000 Loyalists settled the Eastern Townships of Quebec and the fertile lands of the Niagara peninsula. The migrations did not cease when the Revolutionary War came to an end. Land hungry "late Loyalists" crossed the border in large numbers, especially after the Constitutional Act of 1791 established a separate Upper and Lower Canada, each with its own legislature.

The coming of the Loyalists was a signal event in Canada's history, giving substance to what had only been implied in the rivalry of Britain and France: the history of Canada was to be the history of two nations, one British and one French. Indeed, just as the conquest provided French-Canadians with the sense of identity or *nation*, the Loyalist experience provided English-speaking Canadians with a feeling of national distinctiveness that separated them from the people of the United States. As we shall see, Loyalism carried with it the need to distinguish British North America from the republican design of the American founding fathers, and led to the belief that a superior and more responsible society could be created north of the American border.

Loyalism and the Question of Canadian Nationalism

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Nationalism is a word that carries many different meanings. On one level the term suggests an emotion or feeling; it conjures up images of waving flags, pledges of allegiance, rousing anthems, or military salutes. On a more complex level, nationalism embodies notions of racial purity as it did in Germany under the Nazis, or a sense of national mission or Manifest Destiny as in the United States. Whatever its form, nationalism is brought into focus most clearly when a nation perceives an external threat to the culture. The threat of foreign cultural domination or the prospect of war often serves to define one's nationality most clearly and to quicken one's national allegiance. But in a country like Canada, characterized as it is by cultural and regional diversity, agreement upon national goals is often difficult to achieve, even in wartime. As a result, it is fairer to talk about various forms of Canadian nationalism: English-Canadian nationalism, French-Canadian nationalism, cultural nationalism, or even those nationalisms grounded in a sense of regional distinctiveness.

English-Canadian Nationalism and the Loyalist Myth

English-Canadian nationalism derived largely from the community's fear of the United States. "The United States," J. M. S. Careless has written, ". . . served repeatedly, if unwittingly, as the best friend nationalism could have in a country as culturally and sectionally divided as Canada." Canada's preoccupation with the United States is understandable. Her history is largely a story of how she has come to share a continent with one of the most powerful countries in the world. Although Canadians pride themselves in the 4,000 mile undefended border with the United States, they have also at various points in their history faced military invasion, cultural domination, and more recently economic control of Canada by the United States. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Canadians regard the traditional connection with Britain as a necessary counterweight to American influence.

Before World War Two at least, the principal characteristics of English-Canadian nationalism were rooted in what is now popularly known as the "Loyalist Tradition" or the "Loyalist Myth". In brief, the Loyalist Myth involved the assumption that those who migrated to Canada during and after the American Revolution did so out of a desire

to remain British at any price. The hardships they faced, so the story goes, were extreme. In maintaining their loyalty to the monarchy, the Loyalists were believed to have experienced persecution at the hands of the revolutionaries, confiscation of their property, and the necessity of starting life anew in a harsh frontier setting. Proponents of the myth have also assumed that the Loyalists were drawn from the upper levels of society, an assumption which encourages feelings of satisfaction and superiority among Canadians. In this account of things the highly-educated, socially-responsible, non-violent Loyalists compare favorably with the American rebels. Unlike the selfish revolutionaries, the Loyalists refused to be swayed by the wishes of "mob democracy" and were willing to place the public good before their own personal needs.

But the reality was much different. Recent historical research indicates that the social origins of the Loyalists were not significantly different from those of the revolutionaries. Loyalists were drawn from virtually every rank of society. Numbered among them were yeomen farmers, mechanics, tailors, shipwrights, carpenters, cabinet makers, tavern keepers, and numerous other occupations. They were hardly the cream of the crop of American society. Nor is it fair to argue that the Loyalists came to British North America simply out of loyalty to Britain. While some were no doubt sincere patriots, many Loyalists opposed the revolution because they felt that the Americans could not win in an extended struggle against Britain. Forced into exile, many of these Loyalists would return to the United States as soon as the opportunity presented itself. During the 1790s, for example, there was a widespread exodus of Loyalists from Nova Scotia to the United States. The Loyalist town of Shelburne which had a population of close to 8,000 in 1785 had less than 1,000 inhabitants by 1820, and other towns such as Digby, Annapolis and Sydney registered similar declines.

Nevertheless, the Loyalist myth became an important component of the Canadian national mythology. In the first place, Loyalism provided an ongoing rationale for a separate community on the North American continent. Even though many Loyalists who came to Canada were more American than British, once here they were driven to demonstrate that they could build a more virtuous and orderly community than that south of the border. The Loyalists identified American republicanism with disorder, excessive individualism and factionalism, and glorified British institutions for their inherent stability and orderliness. This critique of the United States and attachment to Great Britain provided the foundation for a positive sense of nationality that would develop in future years. As the historian S. F. Wise has shown, negative criticisms of the United States were vital to the maintenance of a distinctive British North American culture. "It was essential," Wise writes, "for Canadians not to believe in the United States and to assume that the country they lived in was not a kind of subarctic, second-best America, but rather a genuine alternative to this revolution-born democracy, and organized upon principles and for purposes quite different from it."

The American historian David Bell provides a different assessment of the Loyalist experience. The American Revolution, he argues, created a "nation and a non-nation". For Americans it provided national heroes, national symbols and a national identity. For the Loyalists, the revolution created a profound identity crisis. Although their expulsion fostered feelings of indignation and rage among them, the Loyalists were being persecuted by people who shared similar notions about social organization and the rights of man. This fact, Bell suggests, meant that the Loyalists at once loved and hated America. This love-hate relationship has continued to characterize Canadian-American relations. Although Canadians have constructed a society that in many respects resembles that of the United States, they nonetheless are quick to criticize the United States for its boastfulness, its belligerence, its violence and its insensitivity to Canadian feelings. While this criticism no doubt helps us distinguish Canada from the United States and clarifies what it is about the United States that we want to avoid, our propensity for criticism is rarely used to point out our own defects. Desmond Pacey once wrote that

> *Canadians . . . are at least as open to criticism as Americans in almost every respect, and yet how seldom do we subject ourselves to searching self-examination? We criticize the Americans for their involvement in Vietnam — but usually ignore the fact that we are benefiting from their involvement by selling them arms and military supplies. We jeer at the Americans for their racial problem and blithely ignore the discrimination that exists in our own midst. We bemoan our dependence upon American culture but do almost nothing to support the emergence of an endemic Canadian culture. We criticize American preoccupation with money and things — and at the same time clamour for parity of wage-rates and salary scales and for an equal standard of living. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that there is a large measure of hypocrisy in the Canadian attitude to the U. S. A.**

One can overestimate the importance of the Loyalist experience. It is important to realize that not all British North Americans share Loyalist assumptions. Loyalism meant little to French-speaking Quebecers. Nor did it appeal to the numerous late Loyalists who had settled in Upper Canada after the revolution but who remained sympathetic to the republican experiment. Loyalism appealed most to recent British immigrants, Anglican clergymen, government officials, and merchants and producers involved in the transatlantic trade. To the yeomen farmers and habitants of Upper and Lower Canada or to the fishermen of Nova Scotian outports Loyalism seemed either irrelevant or threatening. Not surprisingly, the Loyalist myth came to represent a conservative force in British North America, buttressing the authority of the colonial oligarchy. Colonial conservatives found the Loyalist myth useful both in securing advantages over pre-Loyalist settlers and in opposing social reform. In

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** From D. Pacey, "My Thoughts on Americans and the U.S.A."

the first half of the 19th century in particular, demands for a more democratic social structure were easily discredited by the colonial elite as the misguided designs of disloyal or seditious republicans.

The War of 1812

The War of 1812 illustrates the extent to which British North Americans divided on the loyalty issue. In Upper and Lower Canada the late Loyalists and the habitants were often reluctant to take up arms against the United States, wanting only to continue to work their lands. Colonial commanders thus found it difficult to mold the colonial militia into a useful fighting force. In Nova Scotia the difficulty in defining the United States as an enemy was even more apparent. Throughout the war Nova Scotia carried on a brisk trade with the United States, supplying the Americans with British manufactured goods in return for food or specie. As the Halifax *Acadian Recorder* put it, "amongst all this tumult we have lived in peace and security; invaded only by a numerous host of American doubloons and dollars, which have swept away the contents of our stores and shops like a torrent." The close relationship of the Maritimes and New England during the War of 1812 extended beyond the end of the war. Even today this region tends to be less critical of the United States than many other parts of Canada.

Elsewhere the War of 1812 reinforced British North American nationalism and the Loyalist myth. Not only did the war provide Canada with heroes like Sir Isaac Brock and deSalaberry, but military triumphs like the battle of Lundy's Lane and the Battle of Chateauguay contributed to a developing sense of nationality. In Upper Canada the war made the description of the United States as an enemy seem more plausible than before. British-Canadian nationalists saw the war between French republicanism and a divinely sanctioned British monarchy. By aligning herself with atheistic France, the Anglican bishop John Strachan argued, the United States had chosen to war against God. To Strachan, the failure of the United States to conquer the vulnerable colonies seemed clear evidence of the bankruptcy of the republican revolutionary experiment. Obviously God had staged the struggle to demonstrate the superior virtue of British institutions and to punish the United States for its waywardness.

Imperialism and Nationalism

English-Canadian nationalism traditionally involved a healthy dose of imperialism. When Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald remarked in 1891 that he was born a British subject and would die one, he was echoing the sentiments of a significant number of 19th century Canadians who refused to separate being Canadian from being British. Imperialism

implied a respect for British institutions, British values and British justice. Most 19th century Canadians, French and English alike, had a natural affection for the British Empire and a deep and abiding faith in British political institutions. Unfortunately, however, imperialism often degenerated into a bigoted Anglo-Saxonism and Protestantism involving the conviction that French-Canadians should be anglicized and assimilated. This kind of exclusive nationalism, typified by Dalton McCarthy of the Imperial Federation League, appealed to racial and religious prejudice and was clearly unsuited to a pluralistic and multicultural Canadian community.

With the gradual decline of British influence in the world, and the transformation of the British Empire into the British Commonwealth, the traditional English-Canadian nationalism of the 19th century has gone into eclipse. Some Canadians regret the change. In his book *Lament for a Nation* (1965), historian and nationalist George Grant mourned the passing of a Canadian state which distrusted the United States and severed the British connection. Canadians, Grant argued, had chosen to ignore the wisdom of nationalists like Sir John A. Macdonald "who saw plainly more than a hundred years ago that the only threat to nationalism was from the South, not from across the sea." In so doing they relinquished the possibility of creating "a more ordered and stable society than the liberal experiment in the United States."* To Grant, Canadian nationalism could not survive in the face of modern American technology and liberal continentalism.

The failure of traditional nationalism was evident in the difficulty John Diefenbaker had in governing Canada. A nationalist of the traditional stripe, Diefenbaker encouraged the wrath of a civil service and media that accepted the assumptions of North American continentalism and regarded Diefenbaker's arguments as old-fashioned and backward looking. Diefenbaker's inability to govern Canada in such a way that the British connection could be maintained, was to Grant an indication of Canada's inability to retain its sovereignty in the face of continentalism and American technological imperialism. "Lamenting for Canada is inevitably associated with the tragedy of Diefenbaker," he writes. ". . . Those who crowed at Diefenbaker's fall did not understand the policies of government that were essential if Canada was to survive. In their derision they showed, whether they were aware of it or not, that they really paid allegiance to the homogenized culture of the American Empire."

Continentalism and Canadian Nationality

The continentalist view that Grant derides assumes that Canada is a North American nation, and that Canadians share many of the institu-

* From *Lament for a Nation* by George Grant reprinted by permission of the Canadian Publishers, McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto.

tions, values and interests of the United States. Rather than identifying the United States as a threat to Canadian autonomy, continentalists regard the American experiment as an attractive alternative to the Old World. During the rebellions of 1837 in Upper and Lower Canada, for example, both William Lyon Mackenzie and Louis Joseph Papineau called for the substitution of a republican system of government based upon the American model. More recently, such American "direct democracy" devices as the initiative, referendum and recall have been advocated by those who feel that national government is too unresponsive to regional needs and is too far removed from popular control. In the case of Québec, of course, the referendum device is an important tool in the hands of those who favor Québec independence. This is not to say that referendums are the exclusive prerogative of provincial authorities. The referendum is a weapon in every political arsenal. But in North America it has most often been used in defense of provincial objectives.

Economically, continentalism implies a relatively free exchange of people, commodities and technology between Canada and the United States. While nationalists have traditionally argued that continentalism ensures Canada's status as "hewers of wood and drawers of water", supplying the United States with valuable resources at a relatively low cost, continentalists have argued that without American capital these resources would have been left largely undeveloped, fewers jobs would have been created, and the Canadian standard of living would have suffered. This debate has been an enduring one. In recent years it has focused on the question of the export of energy to the United States, either in the form of electrical power, natural gas or petroleum. Often the debate over the export of natural resources to the United States pits the provincial governments against Ottawa, as in the present debate between Alberta and Canada over oil pricing and export.

Continentalism was particularly appealing to Canadians in the period immediately following World War One. During the 1920s a fundamental shift occurred in the relationship of Canada, Great Britain and the United States. For one thing, World War One undermined Britain's position as leader of the Empire. For another, the war defined the United States as Canada's ally rather than an enemy, a partner in continental development rather than a threat to Canadian autonomy. What is more, the United States emerged from the war as a creditor nation with a surplus of capital for investment abroad. The result was a relative decline in the importance of British investment in Canada after World War One and an increasing dependence upon the New York money market. American capital investment in Canada — a mere one-sixth of British capital investment in 1900 was double that of Great Britain by 1930. Nor was American influence confined to the economic sphere. In addition, American popular culture in the form of magazines, movies and radio fare threatened to create a homogeneous North American culture which would submerge Canada's unique identity.

During the 1920s Canadians began to reflect an uneasiness about American cultural domination. American magazines like the Reader's Digest, McCall's, True Story, the Ladies' Home Journal, and the Saturday Evening Post became increasingly evident on Canadian newsstands, as were American newspapers and their new Sunday editions. American movies were common fare as well, especially in movie houses making up the Canada-wide Famous Players theater chain. In addition, American radio stations beamed programs across the border that in many cases were superior to and more popular than the programming offered by the various private stations already operating in Canada. All of this treatened to replace Canadian standards of taste and value with American, and to make Canadian society a carbon copy of the United States. As Colonel Owen Lobley pointed out in a speech to the Canadian Manufacturers Association meeting in 1926, American advertising molded the "mental attitude of the family to understand, regard and respect United States products as the highest standard of perfection." In turn it resulted in a growing tendency to regard Canadian products merely as "inferior substitutes for U. S. made articles."

One early attempt to limit American cultural influence came in the area of radio broadcasting. In the spring of 1928 the Liberal government of Mackenzie King appointed a commission to investigate radio broadcasting and reception conditions in Canada. Chaired by Sir John Aird, President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the three-member commission held hearings on the subject across the country. At the end of their deliberations they concluded that "Canadian radio listeners want Canadian broadcasting." Their report advocated the establishment of 50 kilowatt stations located at strategic points across the country in order to ensure effective service and viable Canadian programming. Mackenzie King chose not to implement these recommendations, however, leaving the establishment of public broadcasting to his successor, R. B. Bennett. In 1932 Parliament established the Canadian Broadcasting Commission, the forerunner to the modern Canadian Broadcasting Corporation or CBC.

Today the CBC has the responsibility of encouraging broadcasting of a Canadian character and "Bringing Canadians Together". Without Canadian content, television would be dominated by American programming and Canadians would increasingly view the world from an American perspective. Fearful of such domination Parliament passed the Broadcasting Act of 1968 establishing the Canadian Radio-Television Commission (CRTC) to regulate the broadcasting industry. Since its inception the CRTC has worked to encourage Canadian ownership in the broadcasting industry and has introduced stricter Canadian-content requirements for radio and television. In the field of radio broadcasting the content regulations have had a beneficial effect, stimulating in particular the development of Canadian recording industry which offers increased employment to Canadian performers, producers and technical

staff. But television remains a problem area. Not only do high costs of program production limit the extent to which Canadian programming can be undertaken, but development of cable television systems, satellite transmission, and more recently the video recorder, offer the public such a range of choices that the purpose of national broadcasting might well be vitiated.

Literature, Art and Nationality

Public support for cultural activity in Canada has extended beyond radio and television broadcasting to embrace Canadian film-making, literature and art. The National Film Board, established in 1939, has produced hundreds of films that advertise Canada to the world. In the process it has earned an international reputation for excellence in the field of documentary films and animation. Equally important was the establishment of the Canada Council in 1957 in order to provide scholarships, loans and grants-in-aid of cultural activities and Canadian scholarship. The support of the Canada Council has been an important stimulus to academics, artists and writers interested in promoting Canadian culture. More recently, the Canadian government has provided tax benefits to film-makers who will produce movies in Canada and use a required percentage of Canadian actors and technicians in the production. The value of this last experiment is not yet established, however. Although many producers, directors and movie personalities with international reputations have been attracted to Canada by these provisions, it is difficult to discern any real difference between the films made in Canada and the product of the Hollywood movie studios. As the Canadian novelist Mordecai Richler once observed, the creation of a film industry for its own sake does not by itself ensure the development of a worthwhile culture. "Junk is junk," writes Richler, "and there . . . (is) no honour in Canada adding to the pile."

In part, Canada's preoccupation with promoting the development of its national culture is a reflection of our fear of American cultural domination. But what are the distinctive elements of Canadian culture? In her book entitled *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* Margaret Atwood has discovered a literary preoccupation with the question of survival. This can mean either national survival or simply survival in a harsh and difficult environment. In the poetry of E. J. Pratt and Earle Birney, or in the animal stories of Ernest Thompson Seton, Charles G. D. Roberts, and Farley Mowat, survival means mere survival in the face of a hostile environment and a fatalistic acceptance of nature's destructiveness. Pratt's poem *Titanic* reveals the futility of man's struggle against nature. The real "Titan" is not the crippled vessel, but the deadly iceberg which remained behind:

And out there in the starlight, with no trace,
Upon it of its deed but the last wave

From the Titanic fretting at its base,
Silent, composed, ringed by its icy broods,
The grey shape with the paleolithic face
*Wash still the master of the longitudes.**

Susannah Moodie's 19th century account of life in the wilds of Upper Canada, *Roughing It in the Bush* provides a further testimony to nature's destructive quality. Even her dependence on the cultural refinements of the Old World were no defence for her against the barbaric quality of the Canadian wilderness.

Another enduring theme in Canadian literature is the struggle to maintain a traditional set of values in a nation being transformed by technological change and Americanization. In Ernest Buckler's novels *The Mountain and the Valley* and *The Cruellest Month,* for example, one is introduced to the easy sociability of rural Nova Scotia and its distrust of modern urban development. Similarly, Frank Parker Day's *Rockbound,* Louis Hemon's *Maria Chapdelaine,* Ralph Connor's *The Sky Pilot,* and W. O. Mitchell's *Who Has Seen the Wind,* portray the stable values that give meaning to the hardship of rural life in Canada. To Stephen Leacock, Canada's foremost humorist, small-town life in Ontario became a target of gentle satire. Leacock mocked the insincerity of politics, the pretentiousness of the idle rich and the falsity and provincialism of small-town celebrities. Like many of his contemporaries in the first third of the twentieth century, Leacock was concerned about national survival. A firm believer in the British connection, Leacock regarded the Empire as an important defense against the materialism and individualism of the United States. Others who shared this concern were Mazo de la Roche, whose Whiteoak family of the *Jalna* series attempted to fend off Americanization by maintaining their Britishness, and Archibald MacMechan who saw Canada losing "its mind and soul . . . to the United States."

If Canadian literature reveals a preoccupation with national survival, Canadian art has generally sought to express a sense of nationality through the Canadian landscape. The paintings of Cornelius Krieghoff, while celebrating the frivolity and *joie de vivre* of French-Canadian communities, for example, also assert the centrality of a northern climate to French-Canadian life. Emily Carr's majestic depiction of the Haida Indian's accommodation with the Pacific forest pay an even greater tribute to the majesty and authority of the Canadian environment. But it was the work of Canada's Group of Seven that expressed most powerfully the grandeur of the Canadian landscape. Lawren Harris' stark portrayal of the granite-based environment, Tom Thomson's exhilarating impressions of the autumn landscape, and A. Y. Jackson's winter scenes, have made the Group of Seven the most well-known artists in Canada's history.

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* From *The Collected Poems* of E.J. Pratt. Reprinted by permission of Macmillan of Canada a Division of Gage Publishing Limited.

La Survivance: French Canadian Nationalism

Nowhere has the question of survival been a more pressing concern than in French Canada. The struggle for survival, or as the Québecois refer to it, *la survivance,* reflects a sense of insecurity and concern about the future of the French language and culture in a predominantly English-speaking North America. French-Canadian nationalists have waged a relentless war against assimilation, and done so with an intensity that exceeds the English-Canadian nationalists' fight against Americanization. In political terms the struggle for la survivance has led to two different assumptions about how French language and culture might be protected, one dualist, the other separatist. Advocates of cultural dualism begin with the premise that Canada is a bilingual and bicultural country and hence for Confederation to work there must be a mutal respect between the two founding peoples in Canada, the English and the French. This was the position taken by the turn of the century French-Canadian nationalist Henri Bourassa. Included in Bourassa's vision of Canada were separate schools for Catholics, education in both English and French and the use of French in government, business and the courts. The assumption here was that the French minority in Canada should be accorded the same rights as the English-speaking minority in the province of Québec. More recently this was the position taken by Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau.

The second form of French-Canadian survivalism was outright separatism. Even before the electoral success of René Lévêsque there have been many Québecois who believed that a bilingual Canada was an impossibility and that the aspirations of French-Canadians could be best realized in an independent Québec nation. It was this sympathetic chord that Charles de Gaulle struck in his famous "Vive le Québec libre" speech in Montréal in 1967. French-Canadian separatists feel surrounded by hostile "Anglais", and have little faith in the idea of cultural duality. For them the attempt to establish bilingualism and biculturalism throughout Canada is doomed to failure. Accordingly, it makes more sense to them to build a separate Québec nation in order to defend French language and culture.

Regional Consciousness or Limited Nationalisms

French-Canadian nationalism is simply the strongest expression of the kind of regional identities that abound in Canadian life. Elsewhere in Canada, in the Maritimes, in the West, and in the North, regional consciousness is highly developed. Both the Maritimes and the West have traditionally criticized a national policy that has built up Central Canada at the expense of hinterland regions. In the first sixty years of Confederation three Maritime protest movements, the Anti-Confederate movement of the 1860s, the repeal agitation of the 1880s, and the

Maritime Rights agitation of the 1920s, gave expression to a lively sense of regional betrayal. Maritimers are quick to distinguish themselves from "Upper Canadians", just as Westerners understand themselves to be different from Easterners, and Québecois from "les Anglais". In many cases, Canadians define themselves first as members of a region and only subsequently as Canadians.

Divisions between Canada's main ethnic groups have also made it difficult to achieve a uniform national identity. It is often said that our

Table 1 — % of Population by ethnic group, 1951, 1961 and 1971

Ethnic group	1951 %	1961 %	1971 %
British Isles	47.9	43.8	44.6
French	30.8	30.4	28.7
Other European	18.2	22.6	23.0
Asiatic	0.5	0.7	1.3
Other	2.5	2.5	2.4

Source: *Canada Year Book, 1980-81*, Table 4.18.

society has tended to take the form of a mosaic, rather than a homogeneous "melting pot". But lest one rush to the assumption that Canadians are more tolerant of diversity than their American brethren it should be pointed out that Canada has been seen by some as a collection of ethnic enclaves. As the American author Edmund Wilson once observed, the various ethnic groups in Canada "exist side by side with very much less mingling with one another than would be likely to take place in the States. With us there is the constant pressure to be Americanized." This is not to suggest that Canadians are more tolerant of diversity. Instead it indicates that we live cut off from other Canadians either as a result "not a unity of ignorance or unconcern, as suggested by Hugh Maclennan in his novel *Two Solitudes*. It is well to keep in mind the worlds of Mackenzie King. "What we are searching for," said King, is "not a unity which aims at uniformity, but a unity which delights in diversity".

External Influences on Confederation and National Policy Development

3

Confederation was a Canadian achievement. At two conferences in the fall of 1864, the first in Charlottetown and the second in Québec City, the Canadian Fathers of Confederation (among them John A. Macdonald, George Brown, George Etienne Cartier, Charles Tupper and Leonard Tilley) hammered out a series of resolutions which provided the constitutional framework for a new Canada. On July 1, 1867 Canada came into existence as a nation in a world of nations. But Confederation itself reveals the continuing influence of the wider world on Canada's history. Had it not been for a civil war in the United States involving the question of slavery, and a growing conviction in the mother country that her overseas colonies were outliving their usefulness, Confederation would not likely have come about.

Little England

To the British, Canadian Confederation was just one step in the gradual process of England's disengagement from the New World. In the second quarter of the 19th century a movement to reduce the mother country's responsibilities in the colonies had begun in Britain. This movement, known as the "Little England" movement, directly challenged the mercantilist belief that colonies were essential to the well-being of any great nation. In place of mercantilism the Little Englanders demanded "free trade" in an unrestricted world marketplace. The Little England movement was particularly threatening to Canada. British North America in the first third of the 19th century had developed and prospered under British mercantilist regulations which provided an advantage to colonial commodities in the British market. Furthermore, on the assumption that these preferences would be maintained, numerous improvements to the Saint Lawrence waterway system (including the construction of canals) had been made in the period between 1825 and 1840. This had been done to ensure a competitive advantage over the recently completed Erie-Hudson route which diverted commerce to New York City by way of the Erie Canal and the Hudson River. Without preferential tariffs the market for grain and timber, the two most important colonial staples, would be seriously affected and commercial activity along the Saint Lawrence River would be greatly diminished. The British finally decided to go on free trade in

the late 1840s. Bitterly disappointed, the merchant communities of Montréal and Saint John, called for annexation to the United States. If the markets of the mother country were to be closed to British North Americans, they reasoned, then access to the continental market was absolutely necessary.

Although Canada's economic future seemed very much bound up with the Americans, most Canadians considered annexation to the United States an undesirable option. The ongoing critique of American republicanism, individualism and social instability was so deeply rooted that most people regarded a union with the United States as treasonous. A more acceptable solution was the negotiation of some sort of continental economic arrangement with the United States. In 1854 a reciprocity treaty provided for free trade in natural products between British North America and the United States. Over the next dozen years trade between British North America and the United States expanded under the new economic arrangement. But Anglo-American relations deteriorated during the Civil War. Angered by Britain's pro-Southern sympathies, the American government abrogated the receiprocity treaty in 1866. The abrogation of reciprocity provided an important impetus toward Canadian Confederation. In the space of two short decades British North Americans had found themselves forsaken, first by the British and then by the Americans. To many Canadians, John A. Macdonald included, the only alternative was a union of the British North American colonies and the creation of a new nation.

The Civil War and Canadian Confederation

Because the question of Canadian Confederation arose in the era of the American Civil War, Canada's founding fathers were particularly concerned about the nature of American government. For the most part the fathers of Confederation were convinced that the Americans had granted too much power to the individual states and too little to the national government. Convinced that the Civil War was a product of America's "states rights" philosophy, most Canadians felt that a strong national government must be a priority in any new Confederation. John A. Macdonald spoke for most Canadians when in February, 1865 he argued that the Americans "commenced in fact at the wrong end. They declared by their constitution that each state was a sovereignty in itself, and that all the powers incident to a sovereignty belonged to each state, except those powers which by the constitution, were conferred upon the general government and Congress."

In keeping with Macdonald's remarks, the British North America Act of July 1, 1867, which brought Canada into being, created a strong central government. All powers except those granted to the provinces in Section 92 of the Act, fell to the central government under its responsibility to legislate for the "peace, order, and good government of Canada."

Two other provisions further augmented the power of the Dominion. The authority of the central government was reinforced by the right of the Dominion to disallow any provincial statute within a year of its passage, even if that law fell within the legislative competence of the province under Section 92, and by the less significant power of the Governor-General in Council to appoint the Lieutenant-Governors for the provinces.

The threatening presence assumed by the United States in the 1860s helps to explain the widespread support in Canada for a strong central government. The souring of Anglo-American relations during the Civil War brought home to Canadians the very real possibility of war with the United States. War seemed particularly imminent in the fall of 1861 when an American vessel detained the British mail steamer Trent and seized two officials of the Confederate States who were travelling to Britain on a diplomatic mission. In addition to the Trent affair, British-American antagonism increased when Britain allowed the Confederates to build a warship, the Alabama, in a British port. The Alabama slipped out to sea and took a heavy toll on Union shipping. When the war came to a close the Canadians feared the possibility of military reprisals. American newspapermen and politicians often suggested that the Alabama claims should be settled by the cession of Canada to the United States. Others believed that the abrogation of reciprocity would starve Canada into annexation. And finally, there was the threat of border raids by supporters of the Irish nationalist Fenian Brotherhood who were always ready to cause embarrassment to Great Britian.

The possibility of American military activity against Canada created a widespread sense of Canadian vulnerability that persisted even after Confederation. Could this new nation survive? In the east Maritimers had entered the new union reluctantly. In the Dominion elections of September, 1867, for example, Nova Scotia returned Anti-Confederates in 18 of the province's 19 ridings. At the same time the fate of the North-West Territory and of British Columbia was in doubt. There seemed every possibility that the West would fall to the United States.

Manifest Destiny and the Canadian Northwest

When Canada was born in 1867 it was made up of four provinces; Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec and Ontario. Less than two decades later, with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Canada had become a nation "from sea to sea". But the westward expansion of Canada was not motivated merely by a desire for territorial aggrandizement. Instead, Canadians feared encirclement by the Americans. Consider Canada's position in 1867. In that very year the United States purchased Alaska. At the same time, British Columbia with its large American population seemed to have more in common with its American neighbours on the Pacific coast than with Canadians on the

other side of the Rocky Mountains. Then there was the North-West Territory, that vast stretch of prairie with no natural boundary to divide it from the United States. If this territory fell to the Americans it would simply be a matter of time before Canada would fall into the American orbit.

Canada had already expressed considerable interest in gaining control of the North-West in the decade before Confederation. Expansionists like George Brown, leader of the Reform party in Canada West and editor of the Toronto *Globe*, aggressively promoted Canada's future destiny, foreseeing the day "when the British-American flag shall wave proudly from Labrador to Vancouver Island, and from our own Niagara to the shores of Hudson's Bay." During the 1850s it had become clear that the Hudson's Bay Company could not provide effective administration of the territory, thus raising the possibility that it might fall to the Americans. In 1869, therefore, the British government passed the Rupert's Land Act which paved the way for a transfer of the territory to Canada whenever terms of a sale could be arranged. In the following year Canada acquired the territory for a paltry sum of £300,000, and prepared to administer the new territory. But a group of Métis led by Louis Riel resisted the takeover, seizing the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Garry and establishing a provincial government in order to negotiate the terms of union with Canada. The existence of a strong sense of Manifest Destiny for the North-West in the bordering state of Minnesota, and the active involvement of American agents in the Red River colony, provided Riel with the bargaining lever he needed to protect the rights of Manitobans in Confederation. More important, from the Canadian point of view, was the fact that the Manitoba Act of May, 1870 settled the fate of the North-West, admitting the territory to Canada as the province of Manitoba.

The next step in extending the Dominion from ocean to ocean was to engineer British Columbia's entrance into Confederation. Once again there was a chance that the region would be lost to the United States. The population of the colony in 1870 was divided almost equally between those of British and American origin. Many of the latter had entered the colony with the discovery of gold in 1858. The Americans had strong arguments in favour of British Columbia's annexation to the United States. Annexation, they argued, would remove barriers to trade with their neighbours on the Pacific coast, the necessities of life would be available at cheaper prices, and the province would develop more rapidly. But when a petition favouring annexation was submitted to the Grant administration in Washington in 1869 it had only 104 signatures. Union with Canada was the most popular option, especially after Canada assumed control of the North-West Territory. In 1871 British Columbia entered Confederation upon the promise of a Pacific railway to be completed within a decade.

The entrance of Manitoba and British Columbia into Confederation brought an end to American designs on Canadian territory. After 1871

the United States no longer seriously threatened Canada's territorial sovereignty. During the 1870s and 1880s, with its war machine dismantled, the United States concerned itself with the problems of postwar social and industrial reconstruction. In the two decades before World War One the renewed territorial expansionism of the United States was directed towards the Caribbean and the Pacific. The one serious difficulty affecting Candian-American relations in this period, the disputed Alaskan boundary, was settled in 1903. By this time, however, the United States had come to reject outright colonialism in favour of an imperial system built upon trade and investment.

Macdonald's National Policy

If fear of the United States encouraged Canada to expand westward, it also led some Canadians to promote the development of a national economy north of the United States boundary. Sir John A. Macdonald's National Policy of 1879 expressed this 19th century urge toward economic nationalism. The National Policy had three components; the protective tariff, the transcontinental railroad and settlement of the Canadian west. The tariff, essentially an economic wall around the country, was intended to foster the growth of secondary manufacturing in Canada and to prevent the dumping of American manufactured items on the Canadian market. A transcontinental railroad would hold the community together, fill up the west with immigrants and establish a vast market for Canadian manufacturers who would be protected from excessive competition by the tariff. It would encourage east-west trade at the expense of trade along a north-south axis and encourage the flow of western agricultural produce through Canadian ports along the Great Lakes-Saint Lawrence route.

In the half century after the introduction of the National Policy of 1879 the tariff was a major source of antagonism in the Canadian political arena. Not all Canadians agreed with Macdonald's view of how Canada should be developed. Macdonald's opponents in the Liberal or Reform party, demanded freer trade with the United States. Opposition to the National Policy was so severe amongst the merchants, farmers and fishermen of Nova Scotia, for example, that provincial Premier W. S. Fielding led an unsuccessful attempt to secede from Confederation in 1886. In the following year the Liberals under Wilfrid Laurier began to campaign for "unrestricted reciprocity" with the United States, which meant in effect a North American common market.

The debate between Tory nationalists and Liberal continentalists reached dramatic heights in the election of 1891. This was Macdonald's final election and he chose to contest it on the question of Canadian patriotism and loyalty to the Empire. The cultivation of the loyalty issue, he believed, would help sustain the National Policy and checkmate the economic continentalism of the Liberal party. The Liberals, Macdonald

argued, were undermining Canadian independence. In their desire for closer economic ties with the United States they were engaged in "veiled treason". Boasting about his British birthright, Macdonald demanded the repudiation of continentalism. Many of the Liberals, like Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, were equally proud of the British heritage, and seethed at the implication of disloyalty. To them it was possible to be both a continentalist and a patriot. "I know no method of scientific analysis by which it can be proved or disproved that free trade between the two peoples, in 1891 or 1963, would be destructive of our Canadian identity," Frank Underhill write in 1967. "Perhaps a social psychologist would tell us that it is necessary for Canadians to believe in an American hell in order to preserve the vital force of the Canadian national religion. To be a liberal rather than a fundamentalist in one's political religion requires a very high type of mind and character."* However one feels about this, in the election of 1891 Macdonald's nationalists earned the right to continue in power.

The loyalty issue re-emerged in the election campaign of 1911. This election was called in response to the Liberal government's negotiation of a reciprocity agreement with the United States. When the Liberals completed the arrangements for reciprocity they were convinced that it would ensure victory at the polls. But they met significant opposition from the Canadian financial community, from big industrialists unwilling to gamble on reciprocity in a time of prosperity, and from railroad interests who depended upon an east-west economic orientation to survive. The defection of a group of influential businessmen known as the "Toronto Eighteen" dealt the Liberals a crippling blow. their defection encouraged the Conservative party to dust off the loyalty issue. From every corner came the cry: "No truck or trade with the Yankees". R. B. Bennett, running in his first federal election campaign, suggested that reciprocity would result in the "decadence of national spirit" and make the many sacrifices undertaken to build a national economy sacrifices in vain. The Associated Boards of Trade of Ontario condemned reciprocity as a "blow at Canadian nationality and autonomy". Clifford Sifton, Laurier's Minister of the Interior and a major defector from the party as a result of reciprocity, called the issue "destructive of every national aspiration of the patriotic Canadian." In the end nationalism once again emerged triumphant; when the ballots were counted Laurier's Liberals and the reciprocity agreement had been defeated.

But in the loyalty issue there is a final irony. Although the tariff was intended to protect the Canadian manufacturer from foreign compeition, especially American competition, in practice the tariff encouraged the devlopment of the "branch plant economy". With the tariff, American manufacturers interested in supplying the Canadian market often found it more economical to set up their operation on the Canadian side of the border. Not only did this ensure access to the Canadian market,

* From *The Image of Confederation* by Frank H. Underhill. ©1964 by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Used by permission.

but made it possible for these American-owned firms to take advantage of any preferential trade agreements between Canada and Great Britain. By the early 1900s a number of American companies, including Singer Sewing Machine, Edison Electric, American Tobacco, Gillette, Westinghouse and International Harvester had established Canadian plants.

Although many Canadians today are uneasy about the growth of the American branch plant, in the period before World War One there was little opposition to American investment in Canada. Rather than criticizing the branch plant as an example of the Americanization of Canada, Canadians accepted it as the price of creating employment in order that young workers would be able to stay and work in Canada. "The basic assumption underlying all of this activity," historian Michael Bliss has written, "was the conviction that foreign capital and business enterprise should be Canadianized, that is, that they should be put to work inside Canada on Canadian resources and thereby produce the maximum benefit for the Canadian people and the Canadian nation."

When American investment in Canada began to grow much more rapidly than British investment after World War One, some Canadians began to reassess their stand on the issue. American investment tended to be of a different character than British investment. Britain's investment tended to be "portfolio" investment, which took the form of loans that could be paid off by the borrower at fixed rates of interest. American investment was usually "direct investment", which involved the purchase or establishment of business enterprises and industrial plant. This implied ownership of the Canadian economy. Richard DeBrisay raised this issue of ownership in the *Canadian Forum* in July 1929. "It is all very well for us to say that the twentieth century belongs to Canada," he wrote, "but who is Canada going to belong to at the end of the twentieth century?" This question is even more significant in our own time. By 1959 Americans owned 96% of Canada's automobile industry, 90% of the rubber, 69% of the petroleum and natural gas, 66% of the smelting and refining and 52% of the chemical industry. In 1972 the percentage of the Canadian economy which was foreign-owned stood at 56% in manufacturing, 79% in petroleum and gas, and 65% in mining and smelting.

Settling the Last, Best West

When Sir Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona) drove the last spike to complete the Pacific Railway in November, 1885, a second objective of Macdonald's National Policy was accomplished. More than anything else this massive project made Canada as we know it today a reality. At the same time it was necessary to populate the empty prairies. Already, a decade before, the western lands had been surveyed and the North West Mounted Police had gone west to prepare the region for settlement. In contrast to the American frontier experience, where settlement often preceded the authority of the law, in the Canadian west law preceded

settlement. It was easier to bring order to the narrow Canadian frontier (which tended not to extend more than 150 miles north of the border) than to the broad American frontier where population was scattered. For these reasons Canada's frontier west tended to be more law-abiding than the gun-slinging culture of Jesse James and Billy the Kid.

The settlement of the Canadian west began in earnest in the 1890s. Canada's Department of the Interior, under the energetic Clifford Sifton was the prime agent in the population of western Canada, advertising for immigrants throughout Europe and outlining the possibilities of the "Last, Best West". Between 1890 and 1914 a flood of immigration from Britain, the United States and from Southern and Eastern Europe, transformed the the open loneliness of the endless plains into a thriving settled prairie. In the 15 year period between 1897 and 1912 more than 2,000,000 immigrants entered Canada; 785,000 from the United States, 960,000 from Great Britain and another 600,000 from continental Europe. The various new nationalities from Scandinavia and Eastern Europe blended with the Native Peoples, Blacks, Acadians, Scots, and Irish, the French speaking Quebecers, the Asians who had come to Canada to work on the railroads, not to mention the British and Americans, to make up a Canadian mosaic of different nationalities, ethnic groups and races.

Industry and Labour

The settlement of the west provided the basis for a period of prosperity before World War One known as the "Laurier Boom". Fundamental to this rapid economic expansion were the establishment of a national market and the expansion of Canada's export trade. With the settlement of the west, wheat became the new staple upon which the Canadian economy was based. The major components of the Canadian economy were those relating to the production, transportation and export of wheat to overseas markets. Between 1891 and 1916 Canada's total exports increased phenomenally from about 2,000,000 bushels in 1891 to more than 150,000,000 bushels by 1916. At the same time the National Policy stimulated rapid industrialization in Canada. Between 1891 and 1916 the gross value of Canadian manufactured products increased from $368,000,000 to $1,381,000,000.

As industry expanded it became more highly organized. New techniques of "scientific management" were introduced into the workplace. Scientific management was an idea promoted by the American Frederick W. Taylor, involving the use of time-motion studies and other techniques for increasing industrial efficiency. As industry developed, labour became more specialized. Increasingly, craftsmen were forced to abandon their traditional skills and transformed into workers in assembly plant production. Recognizing that unorganized labour could not match the power of organized industry, workers increasingly turned to

Table 2 — Immigrant arrivals in Canada 1881 to 1940

Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers
1940	11,324	1920	138,824	1900	41,681
1939	16,994	1919	107,698	1899	44,543
1938	17,244	1918	41,845	1898	31,900
1937	15,101	1917	72,910	1897	21,716
1936	11,643	1916	55,914	1896	16,835
1935	11,277	1915	36,665	1895	18,790
1934	12,476	1914	150,484	1894	20,829
1933	14,382	1913	400,870	1893	29,633
1932	20,591	1912	375,756	1892	30,996
1931	27,530	1911	331,288	1891	82,165
1930	104,806	1910	286,839	1890	75,067
1929	164,993	1909	173,694	1889	91,600
1928	166,793	1908	143,326	1888	88,766
1927	158,886	1907	272,409	1887	74,526
1926	135,982	1906	211,653	1886	69,152
1925	84,907	1905	141,465	1885	79,169
1924	124,164	1904	131,252	1884	103,824
1923	133,729	1903	138,660	1883	133,624
1922	64,113	1902	89,102	1882	112,458
1921	91,728	1901	55,747	1881	47,991

Source: M.C. Urqhart and K.A.H. Buckley, (eds.), *Historical Statistics of Canada*, Series A254.

labour unions. They did so in some instances to increase wages, but also to protect themselves in the transformation of a rural, small-town nation into an urban and industrial one.

Labour organization in Canada was influenced by developments in Britain and the United States where industrialism was more advanced and labour organization more mature. Many labour leaders in Canada were British immigrants who brought with them a labour ideology. In addition, the successes of the British Labour Party in the 1920s encouraged the development of the farmer and worker oriented Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, or CCF, in Canada during the 1930s. The CCF was the forerunner of the modern New Democratic Party.

American influences were even more direct. In the 19th century American labour unions offered a powerful protection for workers. Canadian workers usually considered international unions such as the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, or the United Mineworkers of America more likely to defend their interests than weaker Canadian unions. Today American unions dominate the Canadian labour scene, although there is a considerable amount of autonomy in Canadian locals.

The period between Confederation and World War One, then, was a period of transition for Canada. Although the main themes of the period were the development of the country from sea to sea, the settlement of the west, the development of the wheat economy and the rise of industry and labour, Canada's national policy was developed in response to international conditions and influences. Confederation itself grew out of the restructuring of the imperial economic system and the American Civil War. Canada's westward expansion expressed a fear of American encirclement and the emergence of Canadian industrialism was affected by influences from Britain and the United States. Indeed, even though the main concerns of this period appear to have been domestic ones, they were shaped largely by the influences of a wider world.

Canada At War

4

In August, 1914 the guns of war exploded across the battlefields of Europe and for the next four years the world was at war. In Canada's case World War One meant the loss of her 19th century innocence. Isolated from European entanglements by 2,000 miles of ocean and secure behind the cloak of the American Monroe Doctrine, Canada had spent the half-century after Confederation establishing a secure nationhood in the shadow of the United States. In the years before 1914 the Canadian government had been preoccupied with the creation of a thriving east-west economy based primarily upon the growing and marketing of wheat. The development of a transcontinental railway network, the encouragement of western settlement, and the maintenance of a tariff barrier against foreign competitors, all helped to consolidate Canadian Confederation and to mark it off from the United States. But the war thrust Canada into an international maelstrom that would have a profound impact upon her future. The war accelerated her development towards nationhood, heightened antagonisms between English and French-speaking Canadians, sharpened conflicts between the classes and encouraged the belief that Canada should avoid future involvement in the quarrels of Europe if at all possible.

The immediate task facing Canada in 1914 was to equip a Canadian fighting force and to dispatch it to Europe. Volunteers rushed to enlist in the first flush of patriotism that accompanied the declaration of war. Within a year Canada had some 200,000 men in arms. September, 1915 saw the establishment of the Canadian Corps, which two years later received its first Canadian commander when Sir Arthur Currie replaced Sir Julian Byng at the head of the corps. By the end of the war Canada had raised 650,000 men for military service, most of whom were assigned to the army. Canada's navy and air force were limited in size, the navy engaged mainly in coastal patrol and the air force still in its infancy. But personal heroism was no less in evidence in the navy and air force than in the trenches of the Western Front. Canada's Billy Bishop became a leading war ace, shooting 72 enemy planes out of the sky.

Although Canadian troops served in various theatres of war including Palestine, Mesopotamia and Siberia, by far the bulk of Canadian service was on the Western Front. The Canadian Expeditionary Force quickly established a reputation for bravery and dependability under fire. In April, 1915 the Canadian First Division was the victim of the first

German gas attack at Ypres. When the French-African troops on their left bolted to escape the choking chlorine gas the Canadians held and blocked the German advance. Canadian efforts at the Battle of the Somme, at Vimy Ridge and in the mud of Passchendaele, added to their reputation for thoughness. Commenting upon the Canadian presence David Lloyd George observed that "whenever the Germans found the Canadian Corps coming into the line they prepared for the worst."

The war was sheer horror. At the Armistice Canada's war dead numbered 48,121. For those who survived the mud, stench and barrage of bullets and shells, their experiences would never be forgotten. The horrible lunacy and futility of attrition warfare was best captured by war poets like Wilfrid Owen, Isaac Rosenberg and E. E. Cummings, and by their Canadian counterparts Robert Service, Dawn Fraser and John McRae. McRae's "In Flanders Fields" is the best remembered of the war poems, perhaps because it avoids the evident bitterness of the poems of Service or Owen which dwell on what the war meant to those who survived. The following lines from Owen's poem "Disabled" describe the future of a young teenager invalided home:

Now, he will spend a few sick years in Institutes,
And do what things the rules consider wise,
And take whatever pity they may dole.
To-night he noticed how the women's eyes
Passed from him to the strong men that were whole.
How cold and late it is! Why don't they come
And put him into bed? Why don't they come?

The Home Front

The war also had a significant impact upon those who remained at home. With the war the federal government intervened more directly in the life of the nation than it ever had. The government presided over the development of munitions, assumed control over the marketing of wheat, placed controls on the price and sale of newsprint, controlled housing rentals, introduced new forms of taxation like the business profits and income taxes and rationed vital supplies. The War Measures Act of 1914 provided the federal government with emergency powers to organize the war effort. This piece of legislation, invoked again during the Second World War, was most recently used during the Québec crisis of 1970 when the FLQ kidnapped British Trade Commissioner James Cross.

During the war Canada became a major supplier of food and raw material to the Allied war machine. In order to feed the massive armies considerable new acreage was put under the plough. Canadian exports of wheat, meat, flour and livestock increased significantly. In addition, the need for copper, lead, and zinc meant the opening of new ore deposits in the Canadian Shield and the Rockies. Most important was the produc-

tion of nickel, important in the manufacture of armour plate. The Ontario community of Sudbury became the major supplier of nickel for the Allies. Canadian factories also turned out mountains of weapons and ammunition. Of all the shells used by the British during the war almost one-third were produced in Canada.

As Canadian men and women turned their efforts to supplying the Allied armies with men and material, the transportation system was extended to capacity. In Halifax troops were barracked in railroad cars at the Rockingham marshalling yards before boarding one of the many convoys assembled in Bedford Basin for the trip overseas. In December, 1917 a devastating explosion levelled much of Halifax after a collision between the French munitions ship Mont Blanc and a Belgian relief vessel Imo. Hugh MacLennan described the explosion in his novel *Barometer Rising:*

> *The pressure of the exploding chemicals smashed against the town with the rigidity and force of driving steel. Solid and unbreathable, the forced wall of air struck against Fort Needham and Richmond Bluff and shaved them clean, smashed with one gigantic blow the North End of Halifax and destroyed it, telescoping houses or lifting them from their foundations, snapping trees and lampposts, and twisting iron rails into writhing, metal snakes; breaking buildings and sweeping the fragments of their wreckage for hundreds of yards in its course. It advanced two miles southward, shattering every flimsy house in its path, and within thirty seconds encountered the long, shield-like slope of the Citadel which rose before it.**

After the explosion assistance poured in from many sources. Money from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Massachusetts Halifax Relief Association helped rebuild over 1,100 homes in the city, provided medical treatment for the injured and further cemented the traditional friendship of the Maritimes and New England.

The Conscription Crisis

As far as relations between English Canada and Québec were concerned, the war had a destructive impact. When the war began the Canadian government of Robert Borden was committed to raising an army on a voluntary rather than a compulsory basis. In the first days of the war recruitment was no problem. Enthusiastic volunteers, especially British-born Canadians, flocked to the recruiting stations. By the summer of 1915, however, recruitment difficulties had begun to surface. The war on the Western Front was a war of attrition and there seemed to be no limit to the demand for enlistments. At the end of 1915 Canada had almost 250,000 men in arms and in January, 1916 Borden pledged that

* From *Barometer Rising* by Hugh MacLennan reprinted by permission of The Canadian Publishers, McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto.

Canada would raise that number to 500,000 in the coming year. By the beginning of 1917 critics of the volunteer system were becoming more vocal; enlistments had fallen 70,000 short of the 500,000 target and support for conscription was growing in English Canada. Despite earlier promises to Québec that conscription would not be imposed, Borden reversed his stand. Borden's Conservatives passed the Military Service Act in August, 1917 and in October proceeded to form a coalition with Liberals who supported conscription. In the federal election of December, 1917 Borden's Union government won a large majority in English Canada but lost 62 seats in Québec. Ever since, the Conservative party has had great difficulty in securing electoral support in the province of Québec.

Two factors had combined to make seem necessary in 1917. In the first place voluntary enlistments were not Canada's manpower requirements. Secondly, serious disenchantment the low rate of voluntary enlistment in Québec had emerged in English Canada. While there was truth in the charge that Québec had not contributed an equal share to the war effort, there were also good reasons for her reluctance. Québec was still basically a rural province and everywhere in Canada the rate of voluntary enlistments was lower in the countryside than in the city. More important was the fact that French-Canadians had far less affection for the Empire than did English-Canadians; they were less convinced of the nobility of Canada's overseas involvement. Already Québec revealed the distrust of European entanglements that would permeate all of North America in the following two decades.

In order to ensure the triumph of conscription Borden's Conservative government passed a second piece of legislation. The Wartime Elections Act of 1917 disenfranchised aliens from enemy countries not naturalized before 1902 and gave the vote to those women whose sons or husbands were serving overseas. The effect of the bill was to take the vote away from a considerable number of western farmers who had settled in Canada during the Laurier boom and who usually supported the Liberal party and opposed conscription. In a recent book entitled *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada,* by Jack Granatstein and the late J.M. Hitsman, the behaviour of the Borden Government received a stern rebuke. "The Union Government campaign," they write, "founded in the Military Service Act and the War Time Elections Act, deliberately set out to create an English-Canadian nationalism, separate from and opposed to both French Canada and naturalized Canadians. No other conclusion can be drawn from this election campaign, one of the few in Canadian history deliberately conducted on racist grounds."*

* By permission of Oxford University Press.

Restructuring the Empire

In the period after World War One Canada's relationship with the Empire changed significantly. After experiencing the grim reality of modern warfare, it was impossible to speak of such things as honour, patriotism and attachment to the Empire in the same way as before. In his poem "A Song of Sandbags" Robert Service testified to the loss of faith in British imperialism occasioned by the war:

They talks o' England's glory and a-'oldin' of our trade
Of Empire and 'igh destiny until we're fair flim-flammed;
But if it's for the likes o' that that bloody war is made,
*Then wot I say is: Empire and 'igh destiny be damned!**

An even more powerful expression of the waning of imperial allegiances was the postwar movement directed at securing Canadian autonomy through a redefinition of Dominion status. Postwar Canadian autonomists — among them John W. Dafoe, Oscar Skelton and Mackenzie King — demanded greater freedom of action with the Empire. "Canadians will insist upon the status of nationhood," Dafoe wrote. "If there is to be imperial unity it must be adjusted to this governing fact."

The postwar weakening of Canada's attachment to the Empire had its roots in the Great War. During the war, for example, Prime Minister Borden stoutly opposed the British inclination to break up Canadian fighting units in order that they might be integrated into the British ranks. Beyond that Borden convinced Lloyd George of the need for an Imperial War Cabinet. Established in 1917, this body became an agency for imperial cooperation in the formulation of war policy. Nor did Borden's achievement end there. At the end of the war he established Canada's right to sign the peace treaties as a separate entity and secured independent membership for Canada in the League of Nations. Canada's membership in the League assumed particular significance with the subsequent refusal of the United States to join the organization. During the interwar period Canada was North America's only voice in the League of Nations.

But if Borden's actions indicated a growing sense of Canadian independence they did not seriously challenge the authority of the Empire. Despite his desire to see local interests protected within the Empire Borden stopped short of advocating independence. Along with the other Dominion Prime Ministers at the Imperial War Conference of 1917, for example, Borden supported the idea of a common imperial foreign policy to be arrived at after proper consideration of colonial needs and objectives. Borden's successor, Arthur Meighen, took a similar position, advocating a "consultative" or cooperative Empire in which Canada would advise on imperial policy whenever it directly affected North American interests. That this kind of cooperation could both protect Canadian interests and strengthen imperial unity seemed feasible after

* From *Collected Poems of Robert Service* Reprinted by permission of McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.

Meighen's effective campaign against the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1921. Meighen feared that deteriorating relations between Japan and the United States might eventually lead to war. If Britain and Japan were allies, this might possibly lead to conflict with the United States and even to an American invasion of Canada. As a result of Meighen's arguments the British government decided against renewing the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

Mackenzie King and Canadian Autonomy

Meighen's successor as Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, opposed the consultative principle arguing that Ottawa's interests should not in any way be subordinated to those of London. In response to Britain's argument that the mother country and the Dominions should operate as a single instrument in foreign policy, King simply acted as though Canada was an autonomous and completely independent state. The implications of this position became particularly evident during the Chanak crisis of 1922. In the fall of that year Britain and Turkey became embroiled in a crisis involving the Internationalized Zone of the Dardanelles. This crisis led London to request immediate support from the Dominions. But although London expected the Dominions to comply King would give no assurance that Canada would send troops without first taking the question to the Canadian Parliament. This decision undermined the whole idea of a common imperial foreign policy.

In addition to the Chanak incident, King waged his fight for autonomy in the Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926. In the former, the British stuck steadfastly to their traditional notion of Imperial solidarity, despite the fact that Chanak had rendered a common foreign policy an anachronism. But the Conference of 1926 redefined the Imperial system, transforming it into a loose association of nations. The Balfour Report ensured the change, defining the members of the Empire as "equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another." This was a repudiation of the idea of a centralized Empire and an endorsement of the idea of decentralization. Subsequently, in 1931 the Statute of Westminster gave legal form to the position argued in the Balfour Report, thus transforming the Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations.

Canada and the United States

The failure of the Imperial imagination in the postwar period was accompanied by a diplomatic rapprochement between Canada and the United States. Building upon the kinds of contacts made between Canada and the United States during and after the war through such organizations as the Canadian Bureau of Information in New York City and the Canadian War Mission in Washington, D. C., the two countries entered

into an intimate diplomatic relationship during the postwar period. In 1923 Canada negotiated and signed the Halibut Treaty with the United States, the first international treaty negotiated and signed by Canada independent of Great Britain. Four years later in 1927 Canada appointed Vincent Massey to be the first Canadian representative in Washington, signifying Canada's right to negotiate with the United States without British interference.

This more intimate diplomatic relationship of Canada and the United States revealed a new spirit of trust and cooperation between the two countries. The fact that the war had defined the United States as a partner rather than an enemy was difficult to forget. Aside from postwar increases in American tariffs there was little in the policy of the American government that seemed threatening to Canada. Furthermore, even if the United States had presented a more belligerent attitude Canada could feel secure in the fact that the west had been opened and that the infrastructure upon which the future nation would be contructed was now in place.

By the mid-twenties Canada had come to feel isolated from Europe. "It comes to this," said Loring Christie in the summer of 1927, "Canada has to play the hand for herself on this continent and will have her own responsibility for failure if failure comes." To many Canadians the war demonstrated the barbarity and bankruptcy of European civilization. The growing conviction of European depravity led many Canadians to sympathize with the central character of Sinclair Lewis' novel *Babbit* who spoke of the "decayed nations of Europe . . . where art and literature are left to a lot of shabby bums living in attics and feeding on booze and spaghetti." The feeling of North American superiority was evident in the speeches of the Canadian delegates to the League of Nations which continually reiterated the ability of Canadians and Americans to resolve disputes amicably. Canadians praised the International Joint Commission, a body set up before World War One to deal with problems involving the Canadian-American border. In a government pamphlet George W. Kyte went as far as to suggest that if Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* had included an international court, it would resemble the International Joint Commission rather than the League of Nations. Charles Magrath, Chairman of the Canadian delegation to the Joint Commission was equally condescending when dealing with Europe. Only with the influence of the North American mind, Magrath believed, could "the orbit of European jealousies" be disrupted.

The Great Depression

In October, 1929 the great stock market crash signalled the end of a decade of postwar prosperity. After the crash countries big and small scrambled to protect their own interests through the erection of tariff barriers and the reduction of imports. For Canada, a country dependent

for her prosperity upon the export of wheat and other raw materials, the result was a drastic reduction in national income. Export prices and volume dropped sharply after the crash. Between January and December, 1930, for example, wheat prices tumbled 57 per cent, copper 39 per cent, dried codfish 31 per cent, and lumber 20 per cent. There were similar declines in nickel, zinc and newsprint prices. Between 1929 and 1931 Canadian exports to the United States dropped in value from $499,612,415 to $219,246,449. The consequent decline in national income resulted in turn in a reduced demand for manufactured goods at home and a rapid rise in unemployment and human misery. By 1933 approximately one-fifth of Canada's work-force was unemployed.

The immediate impact of the depression was a strain in Canadian-American relations. In the United States the Congress passed the Hawley-Smoot tariff of 1930 which dealt a powerful blow to Canadian farmers. In retaliation Canada's Conservative government under R. B. Bennett raised tariffs against the United States to what the Rowell-Sirois report described as "fantastic heights", and called for a system of Imperial preferences. Bennett regretted the postwar weakening of the Imperial connection. "Nothing can be sadder," he wrote in April, 1930, "than to be impressed with the fact that at the center of the world's greatest Empire there is increasing evidence of disintegration." But difficulties in the way of Bennett's preferential Empire were insurmountable. Although the Ottawa Conference of 1932 made some progress towards this end by providing preference for Canadian wheat, tobacco, fish, fruit and timber in return for reciprocal preference for British textiles, steel, iron, leather-goods and various other products, these agreements brought an end to Bennett's campaign for closer ties with the Empire. The bitterness and acrimony evident in the negotiations revealed clearly that Imperial economic union was a dead issue.

Good Neighbours and New Deals

The election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the United States presidency in November, 1932 led to a lessening of tensions bewteen Canada and the United States. Roosevelt's Democratic party had been particularly critical of the effect of the Hawley-Smoot tariff on Canadian-American relations, and his "Good Neighbour" policy seemed to suggest a willingness to respect Canadian interests. An even more encouraging sign was the appointment as Secretary of State of a crusty sixty-one year old Tennessee lawyer, Cordell Hull, an expert in fiscal and tariff matters and a consistent opponent of economic nationalism. William Herridge, Bennett's brother-in-law and Canadian minister in Washington, believed that Hull's appointment was a step in the direction of reciprocity. "I have reason to believe," Herridge wrote Bennett, "that Mr. Hull during recent weeks has been expressing much interest in the possibilities of a reciprocal commercial treaty with Canada."

In fact a reciprocity agreement was not a priority of the Roosevelt Government. F.D.R. instead was committed to his New Deal reform program which he hoped would bring about a quick recovery from the depression. Impressed by the growth in public confidence inspired by Roosevelt's leadership, William Herridge urged Bennett to follow a similar course in Canada. "We need a Pandora's box," he wrote. "We need some means by which the people can be persuaded that they also have a New Deal, and that the New Deal will do everything for them." Acting upon this advice, Bennett offered a Canadian version of the New Deal in a series of radio broadcasts in 1935. But while Bennett's reform package was extensive — it included a minimum wage, unemployment insurance, legislation to limit work hours, proposals to protect consumers against profiteering and a number of lesser pieces of legislation —most Canadians were deeply suspicious of Bennett's conversion to social reform. Bennett's New Deal failed to prevent his defeat in the election of 1935; his Conservatives captured only 34 seats to 173 for Mackenzie King and the Liberals.

Continentalism and Isolation

Once in power King carried on negotiations with the United States for a reciprocal trade arrangement that had been started by Bennett and Herridge. During the campaign of 1935 King promised to conclude the reciprocity treaty within 90 days of his election and he kept his promise. On October 24, a mere ten days after his election, King met with Norman Armour, the American minister to Canada, and indicated his desire to conclude a Canadian-American trade agreement. Three weeks later, on November 15, 1935, King and Secretary of State Cordell Hull signed the Canadian-American Trade Agreement. The result was a marked improvement in Canadian-American trade. The value of Canadian exports to the United States jumped from $224,697,923 in 1935 to $360,302,426 in 1936 and $435,014,444 in 1937. American exports to Canada experienced a similar increase. Today over three-quarters of Canada's exports are to the United States and Canada remains the Americans' largest customer.

The Trade Agreement of 1935 also prefaced the cultivation of a continental defense system. Increasingly the United States was becoming Canada's partner rather than her rival. While Italian troops invaded Ethiopia, while Hitler entered the Rhineland and while the Spanish Civil War offered a preview of what was to come, Canadians felt comfortable in their "fire-proof house" thousands of miles from conflagration. The government of Mackenzie King followed a policy of "no commitments" which it hoped would allow Canada to avoid being dragged into a future war in Europe. American declarations of friendship added to the Canadian sense of invulnerability. During a visit to Canada in 1938 Franklin D. Roosevelt pledged that the United States "would not stand idly by" in

the case of a foreign attack on Canada. In August, 1940 this principle was given explicit shape in the Ogdensburg Agreement, which provided for joint defense of the northern half of the western hemisphere.

Canada's isolationist posture during the interwar years, similar in many respects to that of the United States, has generally been regarded as a mistake. Appeasement of Hitler only served to increase his appetite for territorial expansion rather than to satisfy it. But is it fair to regard the 1930s as a "low, dishonest decade" because of Canada's isolation and appeasement orientation? King's perception of Hitler as a man who could be reasoned with was without question naive. Obviously, too, Canada's unwillingness to become entangled in a future European conflict left her unprepared to support the Allies as well as she might have had she assumed a more internationalist position. But Canada was by no means alone in hoping that war could be averted. With the horrors of the 1914-18 war still fresh in mind, and apparently isolated from the source of further hostility by the North Atlantic barrier, it is hardly surprising that the King government took the position that it did.

The Second World War

When the Second World War began in September, 1939 Canada put continental isolation aside and once again came to the aid of Great Britain. Even though Canada did not declare war until September 10, a full week after the British declaration, the consequences of this action were more symbolic than real. Unlike the United States which had not entered World War One until 1917 and would not enter World War Two until the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, Canada's traditional ties with Europe made continuing neutrality an impossibility. The assumption of independence contained in the separate declaration of war — in 1914 Canada was at war when Britain was at war — by no means allowed Canada to avoid overseas commitments in a time of crisis. In fact the week of neutrality between the British and Canadian declarations allowed the Canadian government to receive arms and strategic material for future use against the Axis from the United States.

In the early stages of the war the Canadian military contribution was unimpressive, especially when compared with World War One. In the 1914-18 war the Canadian Expeditionary Force had been involved in the fighting almost from the beginning but in World War Two the army was not involved in combat in Europe before the tragic raid on Dieppe in August, 1942. Although the Dieppe raid was an important experience for the Allies the preparations for the landing were inadequate and the costs high. More successful was the Canadian involvement in the conquest of Sicily, and the advance up the Italian peninsula in 1942. But the finest days for the Canadian forces came after the Allied landings in Normandy on June 6, 1944. At Caen the Canadians showed the tenacity and toughness that had marked their earlier history. Once the Germans were

cleared out of Caen the Canadians moved forward with their British and American allies through France and Belgium to Germany itself, until on May 8, 1945 the Germans surrendered to the Allied forces.

As was the case in World War One, Canada was an important source of necessary materials and equipment. Canadian war industries turned out a variety of guns, ships and aircraft, not to mention some 800,000 motor vehicles for military use. Furthermore, as convoys carried food, troops and equipment across the North Atlantic, the Royal Canadian Navy carried on a grim struggle with German U-boats intent upon disrupting supplies. Assisting in the war against the submarine was an R.C.A.F. Home War Establishment whose duty it was to guard Canadian coastal waters. Fear of losses at sea led the Canadian government to urge the public to avoid idle chatter about military matters. Posters reminded Canadians that "Loose Lips Sink Ships" or that "The Walls Have Ears" and that they should "Serve in Silence".

The contribution of the Royal Canadian Air Force to the war effort extended far beyond coastal defence. During the 1930s the British government had submitted various proposals to the Canadian government in support of a training program for pilots but the King government had been reluctant to do anything that might commit Canada in advance to any future military involvement. Once the war began the Canadian government became more willing to assume this responsibility. In December, 1939 a British Commonwealth Air Training plan was set up, which graduated more than 130,000 Canadian pilots over the next few years. Canadian airmen flew in the Battle of Britain and in the bombing runs over Germany, not to mention their involvement in Malta, North Africa, Italy, India and Burma. Of 41,000 Canadians killed during World War Two, 17,000 served in the airforce.

Without question the war against Germany was the major priority of the Canadian government. But after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor Canada faced the prospect of war on two fronts. In December, 1941 two Canadian battalions fought in the unsuccessful defence of Hong Kong against the Japanese. In British Columbia a large domestic defense force was established to defend against the possibility of a major Japanese assault on Canada's west coast. Fears of such an invasion also resulted in the shocking treatment of the Japanese in Canada. As was the case in the United States, some 20,000 of British Columbia's Japanese residents were uprooted from their homes and sent to "less dangerous" locations in the British Columbia interior and on the prairies, losing most of their property and possessions in the process. Another 4,000 were deported to Japan. German and Italian-Canadians were also interned as were Jewish refugees from Germany. But on the whole these people were dealt with less systematically than the Japanese. In the Japanese case racism added to the fear of the enemy and made widespread internment possible. It is ironic that while Canada ostensibly fought a war against Hitler's master-race ideology, it could condone this kind of treatment of a racial minority in Canada.

Conscription Again

The Japanese invasion of Pearl Harbor raised once again the possibility of conscription of Canadians for overseas service. Earlier the King government had hoped to avoid the obvious internal difficulties that would accompany compulsory overseas service by pledging that conscripts would not be used outside the country. This pledge was honoured in the National Resources Mobilization Act of June, 1940 which contained a clause prohibiting conscription for overseas service. When Japan entered the war advocates of conscription vigorously demanded that the law be amended. Mackenzie King responded by holding a plebiscite on whether or not his government should be released from its earlier pledge. Predictably, the plebiscite held in April, 1942 reflected a serious split between French and English Canada. In Prince Edward Island 82.4% voted "yes" (for release), in Ontario 82.3%, in Alberta 70.4%; throughout Canada the figure was 64% in favor of release. In Québec, on the other hand, 72.9% of the population voted against the King government's request for release from its pledges.

The plebiscite did not mean the immediate imposition of conscription for overseas service. King's strategy was to repeal the clause of the National Resources Mobilization Act limiting conscription to home service, but to resist overseas conscription until it was absolutely necessary. His policy, he said, was "not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary". But heavy casualties accompanied the invasion of Normandy in 1944 and King was ultimately compelled to send some 13,000 conscripts overseas. This caused resentment in Québec, to be sure, yet there was a recognition that King had acted out of reluctant necessity. As a result Québec's bitterness by no means reached the levels it had during World War One. At the same time the war was drawing to a close. On May 8, 1945 the guns stopped firing; the war in Europe was over. Three months later, after the use of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan capitulated. For the first time in six years Canada was at peace.

Canada in the Modern World 5

World War Two thrust Canada into the modern age. In place of the "no commitments" policy of the 1930s, postwar Canada demonstrated a new national self-confidence which allowed her to play an increasingly influential role in world affairs. For a decade or more after the war, Canada assumed an influence in international circles far out of proportion to her limited population. With much of Europe and Asia devastated by war, Canada in 1945 ranked as the fourth most powerful nation in the world behind the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain. In the years to follow Canada became an important member of the United Nations, assumed leadership in a developing British Commonwealth, shared with other western nations a concern for collective security and began to take a greater interest in the nations of the Pacific rim. At the same time Canada came to be more closely connected to the United States, leading many Canadians to fear for the future of an independent Canada.

Canada and the United Nations

As was the case a quarter century earlier, the war encouraged the development of an international world organization. In April, 1945 representatives from 48 countries met in San Francisco where they established the United Nations. The United Nations charter asserted the need "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained." At the same time the United Nations assumed responsibility for rationalizing and codifying international law, and committed itself to the resolution of international problems relating to health, education, labour, and underdevelopment. In time a number of specialized agencies were established, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO).

Although Canada objected mildly to the domination of the U.N. by major powers who had been given permanent membership on the U.N. Security Council and veto power, nonetheless the organization was supported vigorously. This was in direct contrast to Canada's earlier

behaviour as a member of the League of Nations. Throughout the 1920s and 30s Canada had continually objected to Article X of the League of Nations charter which provided for the possible application of economic and military sanctions against aggressor nations. Feeling secure behind two ocean barriers, Canada believed that Article X could possibly entangle her in an unwanted overseas conflict. But Canada's attitude after World War Two was much different. Participating fully in the United Nations and as leader of a group of so-called "middle powers" Canada earned a reputation for compromise and capable negotiation. No longer opposed to international involvement, Canada sent a limited force to Korea after the North Korean invasion of South Korea in 1950, dispatched peace-keeping forces to Cyprus and Egypt and participated in an international cease-fire commission in Indo-China.

The war in Korea, which began in June 1950, provided Canada with the first opportunity to demonstrate its new resolve. In response to the appeal of the U. N. Secretary-General, Canada dispatched a force of brigade strength to Korea where it would fight alongside forces from fifteen other nations. Canada regarded the United Nations intervention as a necessary application of the principle of collective security: agression had to be met with the collective response of those who accepted the objectives of the United Nations charter. At the same time Canada hoped that involvement in the conflict would result in greater influence within the United Nations itself. Canada was still involved in asserting itself as an independent nation and demonstrating that it could make a significant contribution to international stability. What this meant, however, was that Canada's international obligations now extended to areas of the globe that earlier had meant very little.

This became clear during the Suez crisis in the summer and fall of 1956. In October of that year Israel invaded Egypt in response to Colonel Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal in July. This was followed by the armed intervention of Britain and France undertaken, so they argued, to ensure free use of the canal by the international community. The Anglo-French intervention aroused a storm of opposition; the United States went so far as to sponsor a United Nations resolution condemning Britain and France and arguing a cease-fire. The Canadian government was critical of the intervention as well and, unlike other long-time members of the Commonwealth such as New Zealand and Australia, refused to vote against the U.N. resolution. The crisis provided an opportunity for Canada's U.N. representative, Lester Pearson, to suggest an international peace-keeping force which would replace British and French troops in the Suez. The force was ultimately put in place with a large Canadian contingent and under the command of Major General E. L. M. Burns of Canada. Since then Canadian troops have served the United Nations in various peace-keeping roles including involvement in the Congo in 1960 and in Cyprus beginning in March, 1964.

In Canada there was considerable criticism of the nation's "desertion" of the mother country in a time of crisis, although many applauded

Canada's stand as an example of her independent cast of mind. Elsewhere opinion was less divided. Lester Pearson was hailed as an architect of international stability. For his help in defusing a serious conflict Pearson received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957.

The Cold War

What explains Canada's acceptance of postwar internationalism? The answer is two-fold. In the first place, the Second World War demonstrated the limitations of the policy of "no commitments". Appeasement had not averted war, if anything it had encouraged it. In the second place, even during the war it was becoming clear that the postwar world would be dominated by the rivalry of two super-powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Suspicious of the West, both because of ideological differences and because of a history of invasion from the West, the Soviet Union proceeded to reconstruct itself behind a buffer zone of Eastern European "satellites". In a March, 1946 speech at Fulton, Missouri, an equally suspicious Winston Churchill declared that "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has decended across the continent". In the United States fear of the Soviet Union led to F.B.I. loyalty checks for Americans employed in strategic industries or government departments. Americans were particularly concerned that the Soviets would achieve the capability to create atomic weapons, thus destroying the American monopoly in this field.

In general Canadians shared the same distrust of the U.S.S.R. evident in the United States. In 1945 a Russian clerk in the Soviet embassy in Ottawa named Igor Gouzenko defected, bringing with him evidence of a Russian espionage network in Canada. Considering that Canada itself was engaged in nuclear research in places like Chalk River, Ontario, the Gouzenko revelations were taken as evidence of the Soviet Union's sinister and belligerent behaviour. Canadian fears about the Soviet Union mounted as the U.S.S.R. seemed intent upon paralyzing the activity of the U.N. Security Council by use of its veto, and with Soviet interference in Iran and Greece. By the time of the Soviet-inspired *coup d'etat* in Czechoslovakia in April, 1948 Canadians had become as committed as their American neighbours to the successful prosecution of the Cold War.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Fear of further Soviet encroachment in Europe convinced the leaders of the western world of the need for some form of a collective security alliance. This was accomplished in April, 1949 with the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO united Canada, Great Britain, the United States and eight other countries in a defensive alliance

against the Soviet Union and the other nations of the Communist bloc. In NATO moreover, Canada found the traditional European counter-weight to American influence and hoped to extend the alliance to include economic, cultural and social matters. There would be disappointment in this, however. NATO was, and still remains, essentially a military alliance.

In recent years Canada's commitment to NATO has begun to wane. During the 1940s and 1950s there was a genuine conviction that the Soviet Union directly threatened our security and way of life. Movies such as *Doctor Strangelove Or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* depicted the real possibility of nuclear confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. But during the 1960s fear of the Soviet Union gave way to other concerns. With the American involvement in Vietnam, with fear of American economic domination on the rise, and with the development of détente between the United States and the U.S.S.R., Canadians became less willing to maintain their traditional NATO commitments. In 1968 Pierre Trudeau called for a review of Canadian foreign policy. With the Cold War diminishing in intensity there seemed little need to maintain traditional levels of support for NATO. At present Canadian forces in NATO are below strength, equipment is outmoded and the morale of the military at a low point. It is likely, however, that the recent Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the situation in Poland will result in a reinvigoration of Canada's military forces and occasion a further re-assessment of our foreign policy orientation.

Part of the reason for Canada's declining commitment to the NATO alliance is the fact that it is largely European-oriented. The main thrust of NATO defence policy is towards the protection of the North Atlantic sea lanes and the defense of Europe against an invasion by members of the Warsaw Pact. Canada's major contribution to NATO is in the field of anti-submarine warfare. Of greater concern to Canada is the possibility of an attack over the North Pole. Since World War Two, Canada's north has taken on a new importance, both economically and militarily. Militarily, defense of the northern frontier has meant close cooperation between Canada and the United States. In the mid 1950s Canada and the United States cooperated in the development of a radar system in the Canadian north to warn against an attack over the Arctic route. Three radar lines were constructed. The southernmost Pinetree Line was jointly built, the mid-Canadian or McGill Line (no longer in operation) was constructed by Canada alone and the northern Distant Early Warning or DEW Line was financed and initially manned by the United States. Canadian-American joint defense was further promoted by the creation of NORAD in 1957 which established joint command of North American air defense. NORAD's headquarters are in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Canadian concern about an ICBM (inter-continental ballistic missile) attack over the pole led to a controversy in Canada over the arming of

missiles with nuclear warheads. Convinced that the intercontinental missile would make the manned bomber obsolete, the Diefenbaker government cancelled the production of a Canadian jet interceptor the CF 105, or Arrow, early in 1959. The cancellation of the Arrow meant the end of a viable Canadian aerospace industry and left Canada further reliant upon the United States for its defense hardware. Without the Arrow, Canada became dependent upon the Bomarc missile. To be effective the Bomarc needed to be armed with a nuclear warhead. But the Diefenbaker government, influenced by a relatively powerful movement to "Ban the Bomb", took the position that the acceptance of nuclear weapons would reduce Canada's influence in the field of disarmament and make Canada more dependent on the United States than she should be. The nuclear warhead question became an issue in the election campaign of 1963. The Liberals under Lester Pearson argued that Canada had no choice but to accept nuclear arms in order to meet its defense responsibilities. With the Liberal victory in 1963 the way was paved for acquisition of nuclear warheads for the Bomarc, the first of which arrived in Canada at the end of 1963.

Canada and The Commonwealth

In the period between the First and Second World War the relationship of Britain to Canada and the other Dominions had undergone a significant transformation. The Statute of Westminster in 1931 formalized changes in the Imperial system that had been worked out in earlier years. Gradually the British Empire was being turned into what John Dafoe described as "a partnership of nations of equal status united in a partnership of consent." After World War Two this "partnership of equals", or "Commonwealth", experienced a continued evolution. The decolonization of territories in Africa, Asia and the West Indies meant that Third World governments increasingly were in the hands of the indigenous population. The result was the development of what has been called "the multi-racial Commonwealth."

Canada took an important leadership role in developing and strengthening the postwar multiracial Commonwealth, working to admit India, Pakistan, Ghana, Nigeria and other nations into the organization. Canada also contributed to the Colombo Plan of 1950 under which valuable economic assistance was provided to countries in Asia both inside and outside the Commonwealth. In Asia, Africa and the West Indies, Canada gained considerable respect for its assistance. In addition the countries in this part of the world appreciated Canada's sensitivity to the question of racial equality. The race question first came into focus in 1961 in relation to South Africa and emerged again in 1964 in relation to Rhodesia. At the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in 1961 Canada supported the stand of the African and Asian nations which would exclude South Africa unless its *apartheid* policy was abandoned.

South Africa subsequently withdrew its application for membership in the Commonwealth. Three years later Canada again supported the other members of the Commonwealth in calling for an extension of the vote in to non-whites. In 1965 when Rhodesia declared its independence, Canada supported to exclusion of this country from the Commonwealth and applied further economic pressure in the vain hope of bringing about a change in Rhodesia's restricted franchise.

In recent years Canada's influence in the Commonwealth has begun to diminish, as it has in the United Nations. This is a natural outgrowth of the decolonization of Africa and the reconstruction of those parts of the world that had been devastated by war. Canada obviously is not in the position to exert the same kind of influence internationally that it did in the years immediately following World War Two. But this is not to say that its international commitments are unimportant. Canada has an important role to play in such matters as peacekeeping, the law of the sea, the redistribution of wealth between the developed and undeveloped world and the provision of technical assistance to the developing nations.

Canada and the United States

In the last three decades the United States has exerted an increasingly powerful influence on Canadian development. More and more Canada has come to reject its European roots in favour of closer cooperation with the United States. Indeed, even though Canada has broadened its contacts with the wider world through the United Nations, NATO, and the multi-racial Commonwealth, it has increasingly come to regard itself as a North American nation. No longer able to rely on the British connection in order to offset the power and influence of the United States, Canada has experienced increasing American penetration of its economy and the Americanization of Canadian society and culture. In recent years this has resulted in the growth of a Canadian nationalism expressing itself in demands for controls on American direct investment, in the concern for protecting Canada's natural resources from exploitation and in the promotion of policies which protect Canada's cultural integrity.

Concern about the extent of American influence upon Canada centers mainly about the question of the Americanization of the Canadian economy. The book value of American investment in Canada has grown alarmingly since World War Two. In 1946 it stood at $2,400,000,000, rising to $4,500,000,000 in 1952, $10,500,000,000 in 1960, and to $21,100,000,000 in 1969. Furthermore, because much of this investment is in resource-based industries, critical sectors of the Canadian economy now rest in the hands of American owners. This has led some to argue that Canada is being recolonized and that the operations of American-based corporations in Canada represent a "new mercantilism" not unlike that of the 17th and 18th centuries. "In the new mercantilism, as in the old," writes Kari Levitt, "the corporation based in the metropole directly

exercises the entepreneurial function and collects a 'venture profit' from its investment. It organizes the collection or extraction of the raw material staple required in the metropolis and supplies the hinterland with manufacturered goods."* A further characteristic of this new mercantilism is that it finances much of its operation with capital raised in the host country. Between 1957 and 1965, for example, only 15% of the funds used to expand American-owned industry in Canada originated in the United States.

The first warnings by Canadian political leaders about the problems of American ownership emerged in the early 1960s. In 1963 Canada's Minister of Finance, Walter Gordon, took the first step to deal with the problem by presenting a budget which attempted to curtail American take-overs of Canadian businesses. For the next five years Gordon attempted to convince his Liberal colleagues of the severity of the issue but with little success. Gordon resigned in 1969, frustrated by the inaction of his Liberal compatriots.

The reluctance of the Liberals to act upon the issue was related in part to Canadians' widespread lack of concern about American ownership. Many Canadians believed that while the American corporation had some unfortunate characteristics, that it benefitted Canada through the creation of jobs and the production of desirable consumer goods. A CTV public opinion poll in 1971 revealed that 47% of Canadians were unwilling to place restrictions on American investment if it meant a lower standard of living in Canada. In the Maritimes, where the traditional relationship with New England was a friendly one, 56% of those surveyed were unwilling to accept restrictions on American investment.

The old question of nationalism versus continentalism is still with us. But increasingly the integration of Canada and the United States is bringing Canadian sovereignty or the possibility of a real Canadian independence into doubt. Since 1939 the drift towards continentalism is evident in defense, in manufacturing, in trade and in resource development. There have been numerous examples of continental collaboration. The Saint Lawrence Seaway project, jointly financed by Canada and the United States, opened in 1956 and provided a convenient route to the markets of Europe for both countries. The Auto Pact of 1965 established unrestricted trade in automobiles and auto parts between Canada and the United States. The Columbia River Treaty was a joint Canadian-American project that provided water and power to people on both sides of the border.

In each of these cases there were obvious advantages for Canada. Yet it is also true that continentalism comes at a price. It is obvious, for example, that American assistance in the defense of Canada against invasion over the polar cap is essential to our security. But given that reality, is it then possible for Canada to assert an independent position in foreign affairs? During the 1950s Canada was able to do so. But recently

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Canada's ability to play the role of the relatively independent international mediator has been called into question. During the Vietnam War Canada's attempts at mediation took the form of carrying to Hanoi the proposals of the U.S. State Department, rather than applying pressure on the United States to end its involvement in Southeast Asia.

A more serious concern is the implication of North American continentalism for the future use of Canadian resources. In general the United States tends to regard Canada as a territorial extension of the United States, rather than a nation in its own right. Its quickness to affirm a "hands across the border" posture of continental goodwill is thus often matched by a failure to appreciate that Canadian and American interests may differ at times. It is obvious, however, that continentalism is in the long-range American interest. Already the United States is worried about the future supply of electrical power, petroleum, natural gas and water and looks to Canada as a source for these necessities. The question that Canadians must ask is simply whether or not it is in the long-term interest of Canada to provide the United States with its needs without first determining Canada's own future resource needs. Obviously, the challenge facing Canada in the future is that of asserting its sovereignty and independence in order that the Canadian national interest may best be served.

Canada and the Sea

In recent years the questions of national sovereignty and resource management have again demonstrated the importance of Canada's maritime frontier. When the S. S. Manhattan crossed the Arctic in 1970 the Canadian government recognized a real challenge to its sovereignty. Since then Arctic oil exploration and the problem of transporting oil south to the United States have created a serious threat to the environment. The prospect of oil spills in the Arctic or the possibility of tanker mishaps along the British Columbia coast frighten many Canadians. At the same time the possible construction of a pipeline running through Canada, although it holds out the likelihood of new jobs during construction, is seen by many as harmful to the ecological balance of the north and as a threat to the way of life of the Inuit, the native people of the north.

The fishery is another important marine resource. Today fishing fleets from the Soviet Union, Japan, Poland, Spain and other countries engage in active fishing off the Canadian coast. The presence of these foreign fleets has been a cause of concern because of diminishing fish stocks over the past decade. In the hope of protecting the fishery from over-fishing, Canada extended its territorial limit to 200 miles. Foreign fleets are allowed to fish in Canadian waters under license but quotas have been set to protect fish stocks in various species. The fishery, unlike oil, is a renewable resource which, if carefully managed, will continue to supply

the world with a valuable source of protein. Ultimately Canada's policy regarding the fishery should be the same as in other resource industries. Canada must define its own national interest in relation to resources and insist that its laws, regulations and policies apply to all foreign nations who wish to harvest or develop them.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages we have seen that Canada developed its nationhood in an international context. From its earliest history Canada has been influenced by individuals or events beyond its borders. The sea brought European influences, British and French in particular, to bear upon Canadian development while the rich resources of the continent encouraged development of a staples-based and export-oriented economy. At the same time Canada's only neighbour, the United States, exerted a profound influence on Canadian life. From the coming of the Loyalists, to America's 19th century notions of Manifest Destiny, to the present economic and cultural penetration of Canada, the United States has provided a focus for a developing Canadian nationalism and has forced Canada to turn to the sea in search of other neighbours. In the 19th century Britain served as an important counterweight to the United States but today Canada has found it necessary to explore new horizons in Europe, Africa and Asia. Nevertheless, the challenge for Canada remains the same: to secure a viable and independent Canadian nationhood in the wider world of nations.

Annotated Bibliography

There are numerous studies of Canada's place in the world of nations, but most deal with the relationship of Canada to the United States or to Britain and the Commonwealth. Of the more general studies the best include John Bartlett Brebner's, *The North Atlantic Triangle,* (1945) and J.L. Finlay, *Canada in the North Atlantic Triangle,* (1975). C.G. deT. Glazebrook's two-volume study *A History of Canadian External Relations,* 2 vols., revised (1966) is a comprehensive survey of Canadian foreign relations to 1939. Glazebrook can be supplemented by Jack Granatstein, (ed.), *Canadian Foreign Policy Since 1945: Middle Power or Satellite?* revised (1970), a helpful collection of commentary and documents in the Copp Clark series "Issues in Canadian History." Readable surveys of Canadian history inlcude J.M.S. Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge,* revised (1963); Barry Gough, *Canada* (1975); Kenneth McNaught, *Pelican History of Canada,* (1969); and G.M. Craig, *Canada and the United States,* (1965). Also useful are the appropriate chapters in MacKirdy, Moir and Zoltvany, (eds), *Changing Perspectives in Canadian History,* (1967).

The role of the frontier in North American history has been the subject of considerable debate. Turner's essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" and subsequent writings involving the frontier thesis are included in Ray Allen Billington, (ed.) *The Frontier Thesis. Valid Interpretations of American History?* (1966) in Holt, Rinehart, and Winston's "American Problem Studies" series. In *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760,* (1969), William J. Eccles applies the frontier thesis to the development of New France. The classic statement of the "staples theory" is Harold Innis, *The Cod Fishery: The History of an International Economy,* revised, (1954), and *The Fur Trade in Canada,* revised, (1956). The importance of metropolitan influence in Canadian development is the theme of J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review,* Vol. 35, (1954). For Acadia and Newfoundland in the colonial period see Andrew Hill Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760,* (1868); W.S. MacNutt, *The Atlantic Provinces. The Emergence of Colonial Society, 1712-1857,* (1965); and George Rawlyk (ed.), *Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces,* (1967).

Loyalists, Loyalism, and Nationalism

The literature pertaining to the Loyalists and their impact is voluminous. Interesting treatments include William Nelson, *The American Tory,* revised, (1966), which sees the Loyalists as self-conscious minorities, and Wallace Brown's *The King's Friends,* (1965) which addresses the composition of the group. Two pamphlets, L.F.S. Upton, (ed.), *The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths,* (1967) and G.N.D. Evans, *The Loyalists,* (1968) provide an easy entry into the issues surrounding the Loyalist migrations. The importance of the ideology of Loyalism to a developing British North American identity can be gleaned from K. MacRae's article in Louis Hartz, (ed.), *The Founding of New Societies,* (1964); David Bell, "Nation and Non-Nation," in J.M. Bumsted, (ed.), *Canadian History Before Confederation,* revised, (1979); and S.F. Wise and R.C. Brown, *Canada Views the United States: Nineteenth Century Political Attitudes,* (1967). The relationship of British Imperialism to Canadian Nationalism in the late 19th century is the subject of Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power,* (1970). The impact of continentalism is dealt with in Donald G. Creighton, *Canada's First Century,* (1970); George Grant, *Lament for a Nation,* revised, (1970), W.L. Morton, *The Canadian Identity,* (1960), and Janet Morchain, (ed.), *Sharing A Continent,* (1973). Each of these addresses the possibility of national survival in a continental context. This is also the central concern of Margaret Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature,* (1972), which is unquestionably the most readable and interesting introduction to Canadian literature available. Ramsay Cook "Quebec: The Ideology of Survival," in *Canada and the French-Canadian Question,* (1966), is excellent as is his collection of essays *The Maple Leaf Forever,* (1971).

The extent to which Canadian Confederation was a response to international considerations can be found in a number of works dealing with Canada's birth as a nation. See in particular W.L. Morton, *The Critical Years: The Union of British North America 1857-1873,* (1964)) and D.G. Creighton, *The Road to Confederation: The Emergence of Canada, 1863-1867,* (1964. Hartwell Bowsfield's *Louis Riel: Rebel of the Western Frontier or Victim of Politics and Prejudice,* (1969), in the "Issues in Canadian History" series is excellent, as is Alvin Glueck, *Minnesota and the Manifest Destiny of the Canadian Northwest,* (1966). The National Policy is capably analyzed in D.G. Creighton, *John A. Macdonald: The Old Chieftain,* (1955), Peter Waite *The Arduous Destiny,* (1971), and R.C. Brown, *Canada's National Policy, 1883-1900,* (1964). Michael Bliss's article in Lumsden's *Close the 49th Parallel* notes the relationship of the branch-plant economy to the tariff and the significance of this during the reciprocity election of 1911. Paul Stevens' *The Canadian General Election of 1911,* (1970), provides a convenient summary of the reciprocity question and the 1911 federal election.

Canada at War — 1914-45

The essential source for Canadian foreign and defense policy in the period 1914 to 1945 is James Eayrs, *In Defense of Canada*, 2 vols. (1963 and 1965). More specialized studies on the First and Second World War include A.F. Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War 1914-1919*, (1939), J.L. Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government*, (1974), Stanley Dziuban, *Military Relations Between the United States and Canada, 1939-1945*, (1959), and C.P. Stacey, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific*, (1955). J.L. Granatstein and J.M. Hitzman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada*, (1977), traces the history of compulsory military service in Canada from the colonial period to World War Two, emphasizing its divisive character. This book provides an excellent illustration of the impact of international concerns upon Canadian domestic policy. Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians*, (1976), a treatment of the Japanese internment question, is a useful companion to the above.

The period between the wars witnessed the decline of British influence and growing continentalism. Two works, R.M. Dawson, *The Development of Dominion Status, 1900-1936*, (1937), and K.C. Wheare, *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status*, (1953), address the development of Dominion autonomy. These can be supplemented by H. Blair Neatby, *William Lyon Mackenzie King: The Lonely Heights*, 2 vols., Vol II, (1963), which is equally useful in understanding the development of continentalism between the wars. The impact of the United States on Canadian domestic policy is the subject of Richard Wilbur's C.H.A. pamphlet *The Bennett New Deal*, outlining Bennett's reform response to the unfortunate social conditions of the Great Depression. The hardships of the 1930s are graphically described in Michael Horn, *The Dirty Thirties*, (1976), L.M. Grayson and Michael Bliss, (eds.), *The Wretched of Canada*, (1971), and Barry Broadfoot, *Ten Lost Years*, (1973).

Canada in the Modern World

Canada has played a major role in international organizations in the last four decades. The early years of that activity are capably addressed in F.H. Soward and Edgar McInnis, *Canada and the United Nations*, (1956), and John W. Holmes, *The Shaping of Peace: Canada and the Search for World Order, 1943-1957*, (1979). Particularly useful for teaching purposes is the OISE cassette tape series *Canadian Issues on Tape*, especially the interview with Denis Stairs. This tape covers Canada's role in the United Nations, the Korean conflict and Suez, continental defense and collective security, and modern foreign policy issues.

Others deal with Canadian foreign policy between the wars and with Canadian-American relations. The problem of maintaining an independent voice in the context of modern North American continentalism is the subject of a number of useful studies. Stephen Clarkson, (ed.), *An Independent Foreign Policy For Canada,* (1968) is a series of essays raising this issue in the context of Canadian foreign policy. Ian Lumsden, (ed.), *Close the 49th Parallel etc. The Americanization of Canada,* (1970), is a more wide-ranging collection addressing similar concerns. And finally on the question of American ownership of the Canadian economy one should see Kari Levitt, *Silent Surrender: The American Economic Empire in Canada,* (1970).

Teachers' Notes

by

Glenda J. Redden

Teachers' Notes

Introduction

Teachers' notes can be prepared in a variety of ways for use with a particular publication. Broad general statements may be offered about various ideas presented in the document with general suggestions on organizing and teaching the information given. Specific activities and exercises relating to the content of the document can be provided with additional information and resource references. Or a combination of two or more of these, or others not mentioned above may be employed. The usefulness of any set of notes will depend on the background, expertise and interest of the teachers using them as well as the intended audience. *Canada and the Wider World* may be used by teachers from Grades 7-10 or even higher and teachers' backgrounds may vary from little or no Canadian history to extensive knowledge of Canada. Therefore, it becomes difficult to compose notes which will provide support for all who may use the document. Hopefully, these notes will provide something for all who may refer to them.

The Howell book itself is probably best used as background for teachers. It is possible, depending on the grade level being taught and the reading/comprehension level of the students involved, that part or all of the book may be used directly by students.

Recently, a number of Canadian books have presented Canadian history from different viewpoints such as that of labour, native peoples, women, literature and art. Publications such as Robinson's book *After Survival: A Teacher's Guide to Canadian Literature,* and Robinson and Sylvester's book, *Teaching Canadian Studies: An Evaluation of Print Materials, Grades 1-13,* can give more specific references about Canadian history from various viewpoints.

These new Canadian history textbooks are fairly obvious departures from the traditional political, constitutional and military (with some economic content) presentation of Canadian history. They also attempt to give what I consider a more balanced picture of Canadian history, examining the various topics from such different points of view as the regional, ethnic and cultural. For many Canadians the Laurentian theses of Canada's development, which uses the St. Lawrence water route and its connections to Britain as the central focus, is no longer acceptable as the best way to present Canadian history. Neither is the totally regional approach which examines Canada's development from east to west, while almost, if not totally, ignore developments in Atlantic Canada after Confederation. A totally new approach to learning

about Canada and Canadians is needed. Hodgetts and Gallagher have suggested one such approach in their publication *Teaching Canada for the '80s*, which in turn has led to publications such as this set of books on the various themes expressed by Hodgetts and Gallagher. Written within the Hodgetts and Gallagher framework, *Canada and the Wider World* provides teachers with another focus on Canadian history.

Canada and the Wider World has been written "to demonstrate the external influences that have shaped Canadian society, its institutions and values, and to demonstrate the nature of Canada's relationship to the rest of the world". It covers a chronological period of approximately 500 years. Several chapters cover content which spans the time both before and after Confederation while other chapters deal mainly with events which fall into one of these two time periods.

Teachers who have a Canadian history background should easily be able to develop the historical influences presented. Their broad overall knowledge has already acquainted them with such influences on Canada as European immigration, American bigness, geographical realities, French-English relations and Canadian nationalism. For many teachers however, and I am referring more specifically to the growing number of teachers teaching history without a history background, these influences will not be immediately evident. Often these teachers must rely on available textbooks, many of which are outdated. *Canada and the Wider World* should prove very helpful in linking the various external historical developments which have influenced Canada's growth and development.

Teachers should examine the textbooks available for them to use and make note of the pages in the various texts which relate to the topics in this document. A chart, similar to the following, might be helpful.

Texts			
Chapter 1: Early Imperial Influences	Page References	.....	.....
1. Canadian Environment			
2. Frontier Thesis			
3. Metropolitanism and the Staples Theory			
4. Mercantiles and the Old World Empires			
etc.			

Such a chart will help the teacher to relate more easily to the various topics mentioned and, by using other relevant information in the notes, to make the appropriate historical links. To aid teachers in linking the content of the document with the texts, a brief outline of each chapter is given below.

Chapter One — *Early Imperial Influences*

(1) The Canadian Environment (pp 1-2) — Impact of geography on Canadian history;
(2) The Frontier Thesis (pp 2-3) — Turner, Americanization, European influences, and the sea;
(3) Metropolitanism and the Staples Thesis (pp 3-5) — Impact of organized society, export of staples (past and present);
(4) Mercantilism and the Old World Empires (pp 5) — Principles, rival powers, effect on Canada;
(5) Newfoundland and Acadia (pp 5-7) — Early history, imperial powers, neglect;
(6) New France (pp 7-9) — Metropolitanism, mercantilism, impact of the fur trade;
(7) The Conquest (pp 9) — French and English rivalries;
(8) The American Revolution (pp 9-10) — The Loyalists, two nations in Canada.

Chapter Two — *Loyalism and the Question of Canadian Nationalism*

(1) English-Canadian Nationalism and the Loyalist Myth (pp 11-14) —Myth, reality, nationalism, Canadian/American relations;
(2) War of 1812 (pp 14) — Divided loyalty, Maritime/New England relationships, increased nationalism;
(3) Imperialism and Nationalism (pp 14-15) — Imperialism, *Lament for a Nation*, Diefenbaker;
(4) Continentalism and Canadian Nationality (pp 15-18) — Continentalism (government, economy, culture) radio and television broadcasting;
(5) Literature, Art and Nationality (pp 18-19) — Canada Council, Canadian culture (film, literature, art);
(6) La Survivance: French-Canadian Nationalism (pp 20) — Struggle for survival;
(7) Regional Consciousness or Limited Nationalism (pp 20-21) — Regionalism, diversity.

Chapter Three — *External Influences on Confederation and National Policy Development*

(1) Little England (pp 22-23) — Free trade, annexation movement, the Reciprocity Treaty;
(2) The Civil War and Canadian Confederation (pp 23-24) — Nature of American government, need for strong central Canadian government, American Civil War;

(3) Manifest Destiny and the Canadian Northwest (pp 24-26) — Original provinces, fear of American encirclement, purchase of Hudson's Bay Company, Manitoba, British Columbia, new directions for American territorial expansion;
(4) Macdonald's National Policy (pp 26-28) — Protective tariff, transcontinental railroad, loyalty, American investments in Canada;
(5) Settling the Last, Best West (pp 28-29) — Western settlements;
(6) Industry and Labour (pp 29-31) — National market, export trade, new staples, scientific management, labour organizations, American influence.

Chapter Four — *Canada at War*

(1) The War Effort (pp 32-33) — Canadian fighting forces, heroes, gas attacks, horror;
(2) The Home Front (pp 33-34) — Increased federal powers, War Measures Act, increased exports, Halifax explosion;
(3) The Conscription Crisis (pp 34-35) — Volunteers, Military Service Act, reasons for the effects of conscription, Wartime Elections Act;
(4) Restructuring the Empire (pp 36-37) — Waning imperial influence, Canada's growing independence;
(5) Mackenzie King and Canadian Autonomy (pp 37) — King and the Chanak crisis, Conference of 1926, Statute of Westminster;
(6) Canada and the United States (pp 37-38) — Intimate diplomatic relationships, first Canadian minister to Washington, feeling of North American superiority;
(7) The Great Depression (pp 38-39) — Stock market crash, strained Canadian-American relations;
(8) Good Neighbours and New Deals (pp 39-40) — Roosevelt and a new policy, the New Deal (American and Canadian versions);
(9) Continentalism and Isolation (pp 40-41) — King and reciprocity, Trade Agreement of 1935, Canada's isolationist policy, Ogdensburg Agreement;
(10) The Second World War (pp 41-42) — Canadian involvement, Japanese in Canada;
(11) Conscription Again (pp 43) — Plebiscite and conscription, English and French reaction.

Chapter Five — *Canada in the Modern World*

(1) Canada and the United Nations (pp 44-46) — United Nations, specialized agencies, Canada's position, Korean War, Suez crisis, Lester Pearson;
(2) The Cold War (pp 46) — distrust of U.S.S.R., spies;
(3) The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (pp 46-48) — NATO

formed, Canada's original and present involvement, Canadian-American military co-operation, nuclear warheads controversy;

(4) Canada and the Commonwealth (pp 48-49) — Changes in the Commonwealth, Canada's involvement with developing countries, declining involvement in the Commonwealth;

(5) Canada and the United States (pp 49-51) — Increasing American involvement in Canadian economy and culture, growing Canadian nationalism, "new mercantilism", American ownership, continentalism;

(6) Canada and the Sea (pp 51-52) — Sovereignty, the fishery and the 200 mile limit.

Themes of Canada and the Wider World

As mentioned previously, these notes provide teachers with the historical links for many topics which are generally familiar. They provide teachers with an opportunity to better understand various themes in Canadian history and provide students, depending on grade level and maturity, with the opportunity to develop some of these themes.

Teachers should familiarize themselves with the development of various themes in *Canada and the Wider World.* These themes can be fairly extensive and involved while others may be relatively straight forward. While the development of any of these themes may be too complicated for younger students teachers are in the best position to judge how much information to give students based on their maturity and the desired outcomes of the course being taught.

These themes include economic development, Canadian-American relations, loyalty, Canada's multicultural make-up, Canadian military activities outside Canada, Canadian activities inside Canada, Canada's growth to independence, English-French relations, Canada's involvement in the United Nations, Canadian-Russian relations and Canadian-British relations. Teachers may think of other themes.

In developing the theme of economic development, the following might be considered as a part of that development: mercantilism; the free trade policy of the 1840's, reciprocity with the United States, Macdonald's National Policy, the "branch plant economy", American ownership in the Canadian economy, the new staple commodity of wheat, "scientific management", and labour unions, the Great Depression and the Canadian-American trade agreement of 1935.

The theme of Canadian-American relations might be considered in terms of military, economic, constitutional, diplomatic and cultural events and relations.

Loyalism/loyalty is another theme which is worthy of consideration: the myth and reality of the Loyalists, the loyalty of the 1837 rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada, annexation movements and treaties with the United States, Canadian nationalism and its ups and downs, and the question of what is true loyalism.

Although Canada "began" with three main ethnic/cultural groups: Native people, French, and English, other groups soon came to be a part of what is often referred to as the multicultural mosaic of Canada. The Scots, the Blacks, and the Irish who came to the Maritimes, and later to other areas. The various groups of Americans such as the Plan-

ters, the Loyalists, and others. The Asians on the west coast and the immigration movements of the early 20th century which brought Scandinavians and eastern Europeans and the postwar immigration from southern Europe and recently from Asia. This is another important theme in Canada's development.

In the 20th century, Canada has been involved in a variety of military activities both outside of Canada as well as inside. To follow the theme of outside military activities, consider Canada's involvement in the Boer War at the turn of the century, World Wars I and II, the Korean War and Canadian involvement in the League of Nations, the United Nations and NATO as well as peace-keeping activities in Cyprus and Egypt.

Inside Canada, military activities included the War of 1812, the home front during two world wars, the War Measures Act of the two wars and later during the Quebec crisis of 1970, and the conscription issue of the two world wars.

French-English relations are an important Canadian history theme: the Quebec Act of 1774, the 1837 rebellion in Lower Canada, Durham's Report, the terms of Confederation, Louis Riel and the 1885 rebellion in Manitoba, French-English relations with regard to the Boer War and the two world wars, the Québec economy of the early to mid 1900's, the Quiet Revolution, the Québec crisis of 1970, the rise of the Parti Québécois, René Lévêsque and the 1976 election results, the debates over Canada's new constitution.

Canada's growth toward complete independence was accomplished by the declaration of the Canada Act which severed Canada's last direct ties to Britain. The growth of independence from the British North America Act of 1867 was slow, with the first real movement being Canada's involvement in the Imperial War Cabinet and being a signatory of the documents ending World War I. Further movements included Canada's involvement in the League of Nations, the passing of the Statute of Westminster, the separate (from Britain) declaration of war against Germany in 1939, her active membership in NATO, all culminating in complete independence on April 17, 1982.

Teachers might want to trace Canadian-Russian relations through the Cold War, NATO, the Gouzenko affair and recent Russian activities in Afghanistan and Poland. A look at Canadian-British relations could include early political and economic policies, the British North America Act, the ward, breaking the ties, the evolution from Empire to multiracial Commonwealth, and severance of the last legal ties.

Teachers will note that various topics occurred in different themes. This is logical, and shows how interwoven are the various themes of Canadian history.

Some Questions and Activities

Teachers may wish to deal with many of the ideas presented in the document in a more simplified form. This may take the form of using the basic textbook(s) available to the students and supplementing the information from *Canada and the Wider World* and the other books in the Aspects of the Canadian Environment Series.

The following are sample questions and activities relating to the various themes and, more specifically, to the five chapters in this text which teachers might give students.

Chapter One — Early Imperial Influences

1. (a) Examine several maps: one of Europe, one of North America, and one showing both North America and Europe. Examine them in terms of size of various countries, their proximity to each other, access to means of water transportation, latitude, and distance.
   (b) Examine physical maps of Canada and the United States, comparing the two countries as to size, river systems, mountain ranges, plains and other geographical features. Similarly, compare population maps and note where the majority of people live in the two countries. Speculate as to why this is so (including geographical factors). Where are the areas of least population? Speculate as to why this is so.
2. Examine several maps which show the regions of Canada. What determines a region? How do you view your region? Do you have any feelings about other regions, e.g., the Atlantic, the North, the Prairies? Did the 1981 constitutional conference, attended by the prime minister and premiers, indicate any regional differences? Using *Regional Perspectives in Canada* (See! Here! Now! series), identify regional approaches and concerns which illustrate regional reactions toward the national policies.
3. (a) What is meant by the "staples theory" of Canadian history? How have the staples changed from early Canadian history times to today? Have the countries importing the staples changed? Examine tables of staples which have been exported from Canada from early times to the present *(Historical Statis-*

tics of Canada by Urquhart will be a useful resource). Draw a relationship between the information provided by these tables and its influence on the development of Canadian history (thus guiding students toward an understanding of the "staples theory").

(b) What is meant by "the principles of mercantilism"? How did they apply to Britain's colonies? Is Canada still a mercantilist country? Consider the principles of mercantilism in light of Alberta and the energy question. Compare charts showing the use of imported and domestic oil in 1970, 1975, 1980. Has there been a change? Explain.

4. (a) Early settlements in Newfoundland and Acadia were very similar. How were they similar? Did the "staples" policy have any effect on these early settlements? The early settlements of Newfoundland and Acadia were quite different from those in New France. Make a comparison chart to show these differences.

Chapter Two — Loyalism and the Question of Canadian Nationality

1. Were the Loyalists really loyal? How are they portrayed in the textbooks? Interview someone of Loyalist ancestry. Get his/her opinion on why the Loyalists came to Canada. How did the Loyalists view the land, i.e., the United States, they had left? Do you think that the Loyalist experience has been overestimated?
2. Give several examples of the love-hate relationship which characterizes Canadian-American relations.
3. What do you think is meant by the continentalist view? Give examples of the American model of "direct democracy". How did World War I affect continentalism?
4. Give examples to show American influence, other than economic, on Canada. Give examples to show some of Canada's attempts to limit American influence and explain why it did this.
5. What is meant by Canadian Culture? What contributes to Canadian Culture? Have we been successful in establishing a Canadian culture? (See Appendix 1 for further questions and activities relating to Canadian culture).
6. What does French Canada's struggle for survival reflect? Tell about the two forms of survival, i.e., cultural dualism and separatism.

Chapter Three — External Influences on Confederation and National Policy Development

1. Find information for the reasons behind the original movement for Maritime Union. How did the people from Upper and Lower Canada become involved in the Conference in Charlottetown? What was the attitude of the three Maritime provinces toward Confederation once it was in effect?
2. What were some of the features of the new Canadian government which helped to create a strong central government? How did these features compare with the American system of government? Make a simple comparison chart showing some of the key features of both the American and the Canadian systems of government.
3. List at least six reasons for Confederation (free trade, the Reciprocity Treaty, the American system of government, the American Civil War, the Trent and Alabama, the Fenian raids). Briefly explain why you consider each a reason.
4. Outline some of the steps Canada took in the 1860's and early 1870's to gain control of western lands. Why did she take these steps?
5. Macdonald's National Policy had three components. What were they? Briefly explain each.
6. How did Macdonald's tariff policy encourage the development of the "branch plant economy"? What was the Canadian reaction in the early 1900's to American investment in Canada? Locate recent statistics to illustrate the amount of American investment in Canada.
7. Using appropriate resources, research some of the various groups who settled in the west. Why did they come? From where? What hardships did they face in travel? Where did some of the major groups settle? Using an outline map of western Canada locate various major areas of immigrant settlement.
8. How was the development of Canada between Confederation and World War I influenced by the wider world?

Chapter Four — Canada at War

1. "The war accelerated (Canada's) development towards nationhood, heightened antagonisms between English and French-speaking Canadians, sharpened conflicts between the classes, and encouraged the belief that Canada should avoid future involvement in the quarrels of Europe if at all possible". Explain each of the four parts of this statement (See Appendix 2).

2. (a) Briefly explain some of the major aspects of Canada's involvement in World War I.
   (b) How did the war affect the lives of the people who stayed in Canada?
   (c) What is the War Measures Act? How can it affect the lives of people? Has it ever been enacted at other than wartime? If so, briefly explain.
3. Aspects of World War I were expressed through literature, music, and art. Using these three disciplines, make a scrapbook which illustrates activities, feelings, and reactions of the war.
4. Give examples to show the declining power of the Empire following World War I.
5. What was the Great Depression? When did it occur? Why did it occur? Explain some of its features. What effect did it have on Canadian-American relations? How did Bennett try to re-establish ties with the Empire?
6. Compare the conscription issue of World War I with that of World War II.

Chapter Five — Canada in the Modern World

1. For a period of ten years or more after World War I, Canada played an increasingly influential role in world affairs.
2. (a) Why was the United Nations formed? What are some of its responsibilities? What are some of its specialized agencies? Find out more about two of these agencies.
   (b) What was Canada's reaction to the United Nations as compared to the League of Nations?
   Briefly describe three Canadian involvements in international events on behalf of the United Nations.
3. Give examples to illustrate Canada in a leadership role in relation to "the multiracial Commonwealth". In recent years Canada's role in the Commonwealth has diminished. Why?
4. Although there has been closer co-operation between Canada and the United States in recent years, lately Canadian nationalism has become more evident. Give examples to show American involvement in Canada as well as examples showing Canada's increasing nationalism.
5. Discuss continentalism vs nationalism. Give examples to illustrate each.
6. The sea is important to Canada. Briefly explain Canada's involvement in offshore oil drilling and the fishing industry. Should Canada form policies concerning these? What kind of policies?

Methodologies

Many Canadian history teachers recognize that a variety of approaches is necessary for the teaching of Canadian history. The traditional lecture with question and answer session are no longer acceptable as the main methods, although there is still a place for them. Active involvement in the learning process is recognized as vital for learning to be effective. The following, all of which are more completely discussed in Bennett, *Rediscovering Canadian History* are just a few of these methods.

The *problems* approach is one of the methods being used by many history teachers. Various "historical problems" are presented for students to research relevant information and seek explanations. *Canada and the Wider World* provides many opportunities for this kind of approach, e.g., Canada's participation in World War I: growing nationalism or lingering imperialism? the Loyalists: myth or reality.

The *inquiry (discovery)* approach is another way of seeking answers. This process relies mainly on problem-solving and inductive learning; it teaches students how to tackle historical problems, examine the information critically and reach tentative conclusions based on the evidence. A wide variety of resources such as visual materials (maps, paintings, sketches, photographs, diagrams, cartoons, films) and primary documents (diaries, speeches, newspapers, first-hand accounts) are necessary to provide students with the opportunity to inquire into the situations presented or questions asked. This text provides many opportunities to use this approach: immigration and the rise of multiculturalism, the frontier thesis and its impact on the Canadian environment.

An *examination of public issues* provides still another method of involving the students in analysis of information as well as helping create awareness of current issues of public concern. The 1981 constitutional conference is a case in point.

Some schools are using an *interdisciplinary* approach combining either the various aspects of social studies, (e.g., history, geography, economics, political science, sociology, anthropology) or history with literature and occasionally music and art, to teach about Canada. Canadian-American relations would be a good theme to use with this approach.

Activities

Students can be involved in many different activities including simulation games and role-playing, panel presentations, bulletin board displays, documentaries, news broadcasts, research essays, field trips, collages and murals.

Many students enjoy simulating historical events. Among the games available are *Quebec 1759* and *War of 1812* available from Gamma Two Games in Vancouver, *Confederation* available from Oxford University Press, and *Caucus II: Canadian Politics in Action*, available from Van Nostrand Reinhold. Role playing can be carried out using original scripts or historical plays now available. The play *Louis Riel* by John Coulter is one possibility. Students might combine English literature and history classes and perform their own historical version of the Pacific Scandal, or Nova Scotia's reaction to Confederation.

Panel presentations provide opportunities for a group of students to research various aspects of a particular topic or theme and make a presentation to the whole class. The class in turn can prepare themselves to question the presenters on the particular viewpoints expressed. Canada's involvement in World War I might be a suitable topic for presentation with various students preparing information on the causes of the war, battles Canada fought, effects of the war on the home front and the resulting changes in Canada's role on the world scene.

Bulletin board displays can be used as an introduction, a summary, or a collection of various items with the latter two more appropriate for student use. Groups of students might research the various conflicts between the French and English and prepare a bulletin board display which shows these conflicts.

Documentaries on various historical events are prepared regularly for television and students might analyze one of these. They might also prepare their own documentary which could be videotaped if equipment is available. Documentaries on the Depression, Canada's role in NATO and the constitutional debate are several examples.

News broadcasts could be used to present brief accounts on a number of topics. A specific year might be selected, e.g., 1812, 1837, 1914, and mention made of various historical events which occurred then.

Research essays can be used for almost every topic or theme given. The extent of research and the level of research skills will depend on the resources available and on the grade level and maturity of the students concerned.

Field studies are particularly useful for visiting sites of government, e.g., Ottawa, or the provincial capital to see government in action, or to an historical location like Louisbourg, Quebec, Kingston and Batoche. Such field trips need to be carefully planned to ensure that students are adequately prepared for the visit and that there is follow-up to determine the learning which has taken place.

Younger (e.g., Grade 7) students will especially enjoy making collages and murals. American cultural influences on Canada might make a very interesting collage. Canada during the Depression or Canada's multicultural makeup could make some very revealing murals.

Conclusion

Canada and the Wider World provides teachers with a specific look at Canada based on the external influences which have shaped our history, a focus which is not often examined. By necessity, the information is not in great detail and teachers will need to refer to other resources including the students' textbooks.

These notes are designed to provide teachers with a variety of suggestions regarding the use of *Canada and the Wider World.* These suggestions link the content of the document with the content of textbooks, identify themes which might serve as links for the various content, provide ways the material might be taught, pose a variety of specific questions and provide a limited list of resources.

In notes of this nature it is not possible to provide a wide variety of suggestions, but hopefully there is something for everyone. The suggestions are not meant to be an end in themselves but rather a beginning, and teachers will think of many other ways *Canada and the Wider World* may be used.

Appendix 1

Canadian Culture

(a) Make a list of the programs you watch over one week. Identify which are American and which are Canadian. Do you watch more American or more Canadian programs? Why?
(b) Share your list with fellow students. Make a class chart and identify whether more Canadian or more American shows are watched. How does this television viewing affect you as a Canadian?
(c) Obtain statistics on the growth of the Canadian film industry. How has the industry changed over the past twenty years?
(d) Interview various persons involved in making television programs. Find out how television programming has changed as a result of federal policy changes.
(e) Examine, over a period of time (e.g. one month) the movies playing at the various cinemas. Are the films Canadian or American?
(f) What makes a Canadian film Canadian? Should Canadian films be supported simply because they are Canadian?
(g) Examine some Canadian award-winning films.
(h) Examine local art galleries. Whom do they support?
(i) Examine two films, a Canadian production and an American one. How are they alike? How are they different? Is one 'better' than the other? In what ways?
(j) How many Canadian publications are available at your local book-store (or store selling magazines and books)? Are you satisfied with the Canadian content available?
(k) Examine the textbooks you are using. Are they Canadian? Is it important to have Canadian materials? Explain. Are there sufficient Canadian materials in your school library?
(l) What was the Massey Report? What effect did it have on Canadian culture?
(m) Examine present Canadian proposals on the arts.

Appendix 2

War and Conscription

Although today's students do not have any immediate association with war, it remains a subject of interest. In order to deal with the issue of enlistment a teacher could introduce "A Letter to the Boys and Girls of the Nova Scotia Schools" to the students and discuss their reactions. (This document is useful in that it reveals a lot of information about life in general in Nova Scotia). Following a discussion that could include the statistics on the number of recruits during World War I and the number killed and wounded, poll the class to determine the number of students that would volunteer to enlist if Canada were now at war. Students could also interview their parents and grandparents concerning their military involvement. The reasons why students would or would not enlist should be discussed and some interesting comparisons might be drawn with the reasons why people of earlier generations enlisted.

Other questions that could be introduced include:

(a) If there were a war and there were not enough volunteers, what could the country do? Give up? Force people to enlist?
(b) What happens when you are forced to do something you don't want to do?
(c) What methods could be used to encourage people to enlist voluntarily and to do their best if they were conscripted?

In the past most of the combatants in a war have been male. Any consideration of war and conscription should include the effect this fact had upon those who remained behind such as the older men, children and women. Questions that could deal with this issue include:

(a) What activities are needed at home when there is a war?
(b) Who is going to fill the jobs left vacant and the new jobs created by the war?
(c) What effect might this have on the economy? On home life? On the troops who return when the war is over?

Other activities that might help to illustrate the issue of war and conscription could include:

(a) An examination of the military draft in the United States and the anti-war protests and "draft dodging" that accompanied the Vietnam War.
(b) Examine accounts of the "October Crisis" in Canada, the use of the War Measures Act and the reaction of Canadians.

(c) Invite military recruiters, other military personnel and veterans to the classroom to share their insights, knowledge and experiences on the topics involved.

(d) Consider, again perhaps with invited guests, the effects of war on the participants.
   i) What are the effects on society of training people to kill?
   ii) What medical and psychological effects are felt by participants in active warfare?
   iii) What does society owe to veterans of Canada's wars?
   iv) Is war ever worth the cost involved?

A LETTER TO THE BOYS AND GIRLS OF THE NOVA SCOTIA SCHOOLS

The Armouries,
Halifax, N.S.,
February 14th, 1916.

Dear Boys and Girls,

I am writing to ask you to help us. Perhaps I had better begin by letting you know who I am and why I need your help. I was once a Nova Scotia school boy; now I am a Nova Scotia soldier and I have been asked by the King to get together in this Province of ours 3,500 men who are willing to become soldiers, and go across the Atlantic with me to help beat the cruel Germans who are trying to destroy our Empire. They must be got quickly, in fact it is necessary that we have these 3,500 men — your fathers and big brothers or any men who are strong and well in your section between the ages of eighteen and forty-five —within a month from the time you receive this letter. Now you will understand that it is very hard to persuade quiet people who chop in the woods, plow in the fields, work in the mines, fish in the sea, or work in shops and offices, to leave the peaceful occupations to go far across the sea to fight the faithless Germans. But if the Nova Scotia men do not cross the sea to fight the Germans in France, the Germans may come to Nova Scotia and take and destroy our farms and houses.

So you see I need your help very badly. You must help me to raise these 3,500 men. You may say to me, "What can boys and girls like us do?" Well, you can carry this letter home and show it to your father and big brothers, and you can ask them to come with me and other grown up Nova Scotia school boys in the defence of Nova Scotia, Canada, and the Empire. Also, ask them to write to their friends and relatives not now living at home, to return to Nova Scotia and enlist with us in this great cause. Then, on your Nova Scotia Schools Recruiting day, you can sing the songs of Britain with your whole voice and soul. Or if you have a piece to speak about the brave deeds of some brave Canadian boy, you can speak it and be proud that you too are a Canadian. Perhaps you may touch the heart of some grown up boy in your village and be the cause of his joining the Nova Scotia Highlanders.

You must know, boys and girls, that while all seems quiet and peaceful in the little Nova Scotia villages, this is a time of great danger for us all, and that we can only win this awful war which you have heard so much about, if every man, woman, boy, girl, and little child helps. We men must go to fight. You boys and girls must stay home. If daddy and your big brothers go, you must be very good to mother. If you are boys you must cut the kindlings, keep the wood box filled, throw down the hay for the cattle, carry water from the spring, and do as much of the

work of the men who are away as you are able to do. If you are girls, you must help mother with the dishes, learn to sew and darn stockings, and also do as much of the work of the men who are away, as you are able to do. And remember that if you really help at home in these simple duties that are often so tiresome, you will have helped to win the great war and save the British Empire. Boys and girls of Nova Scotia, I am depending on you to help fill up the three Nova Scotia Highland Battalions.

(Sgd.) Allison H. Borden.

Other Recommended Sources

For the Teacher

Bennett, P. W. *Rediscovering Canadian History: A Teacher's Guide for the 80s.* Toronto: OISE Press, 1980.

Note especially chapters 8 & 9 for a brief annotated bibliography. A practical, accessible and brief resource.

Berger, C. (Ed.). *Approaches to Canadian History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

A collection of readings from the Canadian Historical Review. Essential background as well as accessible to some high school students. Essen

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Callwood, J. *Portrait of Canada.* Toronto: Doubleday, 1981.

A new survey history of Canada written by a well-known journalist who brings a unique perspective to Canada's history and its place in the world.

Finlay, J.L., & Sprague, D. N. *The Structure of Canadian History.* Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1979.

An academic survey of Canadian history with a western Canadian orientation.

Robinson, P. *After Survival: A Teacher's Guide to Canadian Resources.* Toronto: PMA Books, 1977.

A basic bibliographic resource, annotated with emphasis on accessible materials for school use.

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Hale, A. *An Introduction to Teaching Canadian Literature.* Halifax: Atlantic Institute of Education, 1975.

* Issues in Canadian History Series

Student Materials

Canadian Historical Association. *Canadian Historical Association Booklets.* Ottawa: Public Archives.

Preston, R. Canadian defence policy and the development of the Canadian Nation: 1867-1917.
Soward, F. H. The Department of External Affairs and Canadian Autonomy, 1899-1939.
Stacey, C. P. The undefended border: The Myth and the Reality.

Jackdaws. Toronto: Clarke Irwin.

Canada and the Civil War
War of 1812
Struggle for the 14th Colony
The Loyalists
Canadian American Relations

Donald, M. S. (Ed.). *Canadian Scrapbook.* Toronto: Prentice-Hall.

A Nation Launched: Macdonald's Dominion, 1867-1896.
A Nation Beckons: Canada 1896-1914.
Canadians at War, 1914-1918.
The Confident Years: Canada in the 1920s.
The Depression Years: Canada in the 1930s.
Canadians at War, 1939-1945.
Years of Promise: Canada, 1945-1963.

Sheffe, N. (Ed.). *Issues for the Seventies.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Innis, H. (Ed.). Americanization. 1972.
Innis, H. (Ed.). International Involvement. 1972.
Cuthbert, R. (Ed.). War. 1971.

Periodicals

Canada and the World.
Macleans
Saturday Night
The Canadian Forum

Films

The National Film Board has a number of films suitable for teaching about Canada. Their catalogue, *Seeing Ourselves,* provides a convenient reference for various Canadian themes. A few of the films are given below, but teachers should refer to the catalogue for more specific information.

The Magic Circle provides a pre-Confederation overview of the history of French Canada, and touches on such important historical

issues as the "conquest", the rebellions, and the Durham report. *The Ties That Bind* provides a survey of Maritime history, and includes a number of major events from the expulsion of the Acadians to the Confederation conferences. "The Days Before Yesterday" series contains segments which help to explain French-English relations.

The Craft of History introduces the work and views of Lower, Brunet and Creighton and presents conflicting interpretations of the purposes of Confederation, the bilingualism debate, the history of New France, and history of Canadian-American relations.

The Magnificent Gift is a useful history of the fur trade. *The Magic Circle* and *Peace, Order and Prosperity* examine metropolitanism as a part of their content. *Moses Coady* looks at the beginnings of the co-operative movement. "The Days Before Yesterday" and the "Tenth Decade" series include references to economic development as well as political history from 1896 to 1868. *The Conquered Dream* includes sections on competing Canadian and American interests in the north.

"The Days Before Yesterday" and "Tenth Decade" are both useful series for examining Canada's external relations.

Sound Filmstrips

The See! Here! Now! series published by Prentice-Hall contains a number of very useful programs for teaching about Canada. Titles of particular use in examining outside influences are: *Canada and the First World War, Canada and the Second World War, Canadian-American Relations, The Diefenbaker-Pearson Years.* Other titles may also be useful.

Audio Tapes

The Canadian Contemporary Issues Series published by OISE provide an open-ended series of interviews with experts on the history, economic relations, culture, and foreign policy of Canada and on issues of national concern. The series consists of four main groups: Canadian Foreign Policy: The Background, Canadian Foreign Policy: The Contemporary Issues, Canada/U.S. Relations and Canadian Government: Policy and Process. Teachers should consult the OISE publications catalogue for more specific information concerning this series.